

THE
New Politick Lights
OF MODERN ROMES
CHURCH-GOVERNMENT:
OR THE
NEW GOSPEL
According to
CARDINAL PALAVICINI;
REVEALED BY HIM
In his HISTORY of the COUNCIL
of TRENT.

Englised out of FRENCH.

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PREFACE

Nothing appears to us
with more wisdom
than when we
have entertained our
great expectations of
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dently demonstrate that
the expectations from the
all of them compared with
the disappointment that fol-
lowed when the time of it was
found.



THE P R E F A C E.

NOthing appears to us with more disadvantage than when we have entertained our selves with great expectations of it ; for all that we can attain in this world, must needs fall short of those fair Idea's we propose to our selves. There was never any Instance which did more evidently demonstrate this, than the expectations from the Council of *Trent*, compared with the disappointment that followed, when the Issue of it was

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found so disproportioned to the hopes were conceived about it.

When Pope *Leo* the 10th. gave out his Thunders against *Luther*, he appealed to a free General Council; and the Princes of *Germany* that received his Doctrine, pressed the Emperor much to procure one. This was a Popular thing; for from the Days of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, it was universally received both in *France* and *Germany*, That Popes were subject to a General Council: but all that depended on the Court of *Rome*, look'd on this as a thing of dangerous consequence; yet till the matter were laid to sleep, it was not fit to hold a General Council out of *Italy*, for there they were safe; and the Pomp of a reconciliation with

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with the *Greek Church*, in the Council held at *Ferrara* and *Florence*, through the Pageantry of which, an ill informed Age could not see, gave their Popes great credit; they were sure of *Italy*, that nothing could miscarry in a Council that sat on their side of the *Alpes*. This appeared signally in the Council of *Pisa*, which *Lewis* the 12th. held against P. *Julius* the Second, where the people, though under the *French* power, treated the Cardinals and Bishops so ill, that they were forced to remove from thence to *Mellan*, and there their reception was not much better. And as all feeble Attempts do confirm those against whom they are made, so P. *Julius* drew great advantages from that opposition, by a Council which

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he then held in the *Lateran*.
But now the Demand, a Free
Council, out of *Italy*, gave them
no small terror; the Riches and
Greatness of their Court depen-
ded on so many Exactions, Dis-
pensations & other Oppressions,
that it had been presumption to
have expected that these things,
for which nothing could be pre-
tended from Scripture or Tra-
dition, should have been defend-
ed or preserved. It is true, the *Lu-
therans* had no great reason to ex-
pect any thing from a Council,
nor is it to be imagined that they
promised themselves much from
it. Generally all Bishops con-
demned their Opinions, and they
did so effectually beat down the
Secular Interests of the whole
Ecclesiastical State, that nothing
but the force of Truth joyned
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with great Sincerity, could bring over any Aspiring or Dignified Church-men to their Party: So that how much soever the Court of *Rome* might lose in such a Meeting, they were not like to gain much. But an Appeal to it was plausible; they knew the Pope would not be easily brought to it. Divisions were like to follow between the Court of *Rome* & the Clergy beyond the Mountains; and they knew that there could be no hopes of a Council truly called: So that if such a one were called, as former Councils had been, they would not want good Reasons to justify their declining these Judges.

A General Council was a Demand which upon so urgent a necessity, a Pope knew not how

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to deny, but they went about it with much caution. *Adrian* the Sixth carried too much of an Outlandish Simplicity with him to *Rome*, and without any difficulty promised a Council, confessed there had been many corruptions in the Court, that needed Reformation, and set about it in good earnest; but these Disorders were not so easily cured, they were become necessary to the Court; so he made but small progress. The Distemper was too inveterate to be soon removed. But if the Court was little edified with his Methods, they found his Successor a man after their own heart: he was well taught in all the Arts of the Court, and knew how to dissemble and disguise things well, and was as dexterous in
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turning about where his Interest led him, as could be ; but it was not without difficulty that he always put off the motion for a General Council : He once offered one within *Italy*, but he knew the *Germans* would not accept of it. The Effect of these Delays was, That *Luther's* Doctrines got thereby more footing in *Germany* ; for there was not such a colourable pretence for proceeding against them, as a Decision of a General Council would have furnished ; and the Emperor finding it necessary to close that starting-hole to which they always betook themselves, at length procured one : To which, the Bishops chiefly of *Spain* and *France* went with very honest Designs, hoping to carry on with their

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Determinations against Heresie, some good Decrees for a Reformation; yet that they chiefly looked at, was to raise their own Dignity, and to beat down the swelled and uneasie Pretensions of the Papal Authority.

But the Popes were too hard for them, and as they bridled their Mouths with the *Proponentibus Legatis*, by which no motion could be made but by the Legates, so by their Intrigues with Princes, by the pensions and preferments that were given, by the Numbers of *Italian* Bishops, and the great Dexterity of the Legats, Matters were so carried, that those who called for that Assembly, suffered much by it, & the Popes who were very apprehensive of it, gained more by it, than by all the Meetings

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things that ever they had had in the *Lateran*. The *Lutheran* Tenets were all condemned, and so there was now a better colour for proceeding against them. The Bishops were much depressed, and at best made but *Delegates of the Apostolick See*, which did most effectually subject them to the Tyranny of that Court. Some Abuses were put down; but those were among the least of these that were complained of, and the manner of putting them down, did prove the most infallible way of setting them up, with great advantage to the Court of *Rome*: For in all these Condemnations the Prerogative of the *Apostolick See* was still reserved; by which they plainly acknowledged a Power in the Pope to dispense with them; and

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and it was better for the Interests of that Court thus to condemn them, than to have given a full allowance for them, since these Decrees could have no other effect, but raise the compositions for Dispensations higher, which it has since done so successfully, that soon after the conclusion of the Council, it was found that all the Diseases under which the Patient long groaned, were now redoubled by this unfaithful or unskilful Physician.

It was no wonder then, if upon so great a Disappointment, every body desired to see the secret Arts by which the Court of Rome had so successfully managed and turned so great an Engine; the Lutherans published all that their Intelligence brought them; but as that was

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not much, so what came from them, was generally suspected. The *French* being also dissatisfied with some Decrees of Reformation, which were thought contrary to their King's Prerogative, and the Rights of the *Gallican* Church, took great exception to these, and published the Instructions, Letters and Speeches of some of their Ambassadors and Bishops; but that was a lame account, and rather encreased than satisfied the curiosity people had.

At length the Famous History of that Council, written by Father *Paul* of *Venice* appeared; it was quickly carried beyond Sea from this City where it was first Printed, and put in many other Languages. The Style and way of writing was so natural

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tural and masculine, the Intrigues were so fully opened, with so many judicious Reflections in all the parts of it, that as it was read with great pleasure, so it was generally looked on as the rarest piece of History which the World ever saw. The Author was soon guessed, and that raised the esteem of the Work; for as he was accounted one of the wisest men in the World, so he had great opportunities to gather exact Informations; he had free access to all the Archives of the Republick of *Venice*, which has been now looked on for several Ages, as very exact, both in getting good Intelligence, and in a most careful way of preserving it; so that among their Records, he must have found the Dispatches of
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the Ambassadors and Prelates of that Republick that were at *Trent*, which being so near them, and the Council being of such high consequence, it is not to be doubted but there were frequent and particular Informations both of more publick Transactions and secreter Intrigues transmitted thither. He had also contracted a close Friendship with *Camillus Oliva*, that was Secretary to one of the Legates, from whom he had many Discoveries of the Practices of the Legates, and of their correspondence with *Rome*. Besides many other Memorials and Notes of some Prelates that were at *Trent*, which he had gathered together.

His Work came out within Fifty Years of the Conclusion of the
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the Council, when several who had been present there, were still alive, and the thing was so recent in mens Memories, that few thought a man of so great Prudence as he was, would have exposed his Reputation by writing in such a nice matter, things which he could not justifie; never was there a man more hated by the Court of *Rome* than he was, and now he was at their mercy if he had abused the World by such Falshoods in matter of Fact as have been since charged on his Work; but none appeared against him for Fifty Years. The things were of such importance to the Church of *Rome*, that every body concluded their concern in the Matter, as well as their hatred of the Author would have engaged

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gaged them to write against a Book that had represented an Assembly which they called an Holy Oecumenical and General Council, whose Canons were to be received as a certain Standard of Faith, to be but a company of cunning and ignorant men, who many times understood not so much as the debates of the Friars that opened the Canons which they were to Decree: That all was guided by Faction and Intrigue; That the Legates took from them all the Freedom of any ordinary Meeting; That the honest Motions of some zealous persons were alwaies check'd and suppressed; That all Attempts at a true and effectual Reformation were crushed; That they went on slowly or speedily as it served
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either the Emperor's Turn, or the Pope's Ends; That under a pretence of finding a Temper to reconcile Differences, ambiguous Words were put in their Decrees, which were afterwards perverted to such Senses as did defeat all the good Designs of some there; and in a word, a man shall find a great deal of Art and dextrous cunning in the Shufflings and Policies of the Legates; but for any thing of Sincerity, or that favoured of men that sought the Truth, and depended on God for the direction of his Spirit, to which they pretended so highly, there is not so much as an appearance of it to cheat any body with, though he had ever such a mind to be couzened.

Nor

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Nor was it to be wondered ;
that those whom they called
Hereticks , did not acquiesce in
the Decrees of such a Meeting,
which a Writer of their own
Communion had so exposed ,
that every good Catholick (as
they call them) knew not
how to defend it any other
way but by that common and
cheap Answer, That these were
the Lies and Forgeries of a
discontented Friar, who either
out of Faction or Interest, de-
signed to disgrace the Church.
This was easily said, and very
hardly answered ; for though
it was not reasonable to reject
a History that had so many
Appearances of Truth in it,
without other Reasons but that
unconquerable one, That they
would not believe it, because it

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liked them not; yet they were safe in this Increduloufness, and there was no driving them from it, till at length Cardinal *Palavicini* with great Art and much Industry, did in a most infallible way give a confirmation, instead of a confutation of that History.

Father *Paul's* Work lay Fifty years at quiet in the possession of the Belief of all that were disinterested; and though some Writers of the Court-party were now and then pecking at it, yet none durst take it to task. They could not pretend they despised it; for the credit it was in, set it beyond that. At length one undertook it; but dying before he had made any great progress, the Cardinal entered the Field, and that he might

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might attain the Purple upon Merit, resolved to vindicate the Council of *Trent*, and the Court of *Rome* from the Aspersions of the former Historian. It was indeed safe to write at so great a distance, when the Third Generation from that Council was going off the Stage, so that whatever a man designed for Preferment, who could varnish all he said with fair and specious colours, wrote of Transactions that were passed a hundred years ago, vvas like to be vvell received, and at least few could upon authentic grounds disprove it; and such of Father *Paul's* Friends, as perhaps knevv from vyhence he drevv his Informations, and could go to them again, were also dead: So that here lay a

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great and just prejudice against the Cardinal's Work.

There was too much Art and Varnish in his Stile, mixed with too many ingenious Apologies for things that could not be denied; this must needs make the Reader see that his Design in writing, was not to tell the Truth, but to defend his Church. So that he is rather to be looked on as an Apologist than an Historian. It is true, on some occasions he makes bold with Popes, and not without affectation censures their Actions; but this is a common Artifice, to seem ingenuous in lesser matters, that upon greater occasions one may cozen others with a witness: yet those that read him, will find that he is very cautious in his

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his censures, and takes great care not to blame any of the former Popes, for the faults that were too apparent in his Patron P. *Alexander* the 7th. About this one that lived in *Rome* at that time, has published a very pleasant thing. Pope *Alexander* did the first years of his Reign declare loudly against a *Nipotismo*; and had solemnly sworn that he would never admit his Kindred into the Government, nor so much as bring them to *Rome*; but when Flesh and Blood grew too strong for these Resolutions, he made a shift to satisfy his Conscience about his Oaths, and brought them to *Rome*, and put the Government in their hands; which they managed with as many scandalous excesses as any had

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who had gone before them in that nearness to the infallible Chair. But before this was done, the first Volume of the Cardinal's History was finished, and in it he had laid most of the faults of former Popes on their raising their Families and Kindred, and putting the Affairs of the Church in their hands: and all this tended to raise the esteem of his Patron, who had resolved to root out that Abuse, from whence all the rest seem'd to be derived; yet the Volume was not publish'd when the Pope had brought his Family to Rome, therefore Palavicini finding that what he had intended to set out for the Pope's Honour, would tend to his Disgrace, and would also draw the Indignation of his Family upon

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upon himself, suppressed that whole Impression, and printed that Volume over again, leaving out all the severe reflections he had made on a Pope's raising his Family.

He vouches his Relations from the Memorials of many of the Prelates and Friars that were at the Council of Trent, which, he says, are to this day preserved, and tells in what Libraries they are to be found, and offers very fairly full satisfaction to all persons, who desire a further information about them. If these were lying in Paris or Venice, or any other indifferent place, some would perhaps adventure to examine these Vouchers; but few will hazard on it at Rome. Besides, there is untoward Jealousie

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ſie got into the minds of people that they are not over-ingenuous at *Rome*. The forging of the Decretal Epistles, and the Donation of *Constantine* the Great, with many other things, has given the World ſuch prejudices againſt what they bring forth of that nature, that few will give credit to things that tend much to the advantage of that See, and are diſcovered at *Rome*, when men think they both lie for God and his Vicar, and for Preferment too, it will be hard to reſtrain them, eſpecially if they be of an *Italian* temper, and of *Jesuits* principles, which, to ſay no worſe, are not very ſevere in the matter of Candor and Sincerity. We know what a Trade the Monks and Friars drove many Ages by

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by Lies and Forgeries. If any thing might either raise the honour of their Order, or of the House wherein they lived, a miraculous Story was first contrived, and either a Writing or some Relick was laid underground, and then another dreams a Dream, that such a Saint appeared to him, and told him to dig in such a place for such a thing: This being published, with great ceremony they made a solemn Search, and the credulous Rabble were thus cheated. It is said of Thieves and Robbers, who have driven the Trade long, that even after they are discovered, and in the Jayl, they cannot give it over, but must be still practising their old Arts. So Rome has been so long used to Forgeries, that after

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after all the Discoveries that are made, they cannot hold their hands; and this in a great part lessens the Authority of those Journals and other Memorials that have been hid and unknown about a hundred years, and at length have appeared to serve a turn.

But there are two things in the Cardinal's Work, which have given great advantages to those who are not much disposed to any high esteem for that Council. The one is, That though in some circumstances, and less material things, he has said much to shew that Father Paul's Informations were not just nor exact, yet upon the matter he represents the transactions as full of Intrigues, Artifices and Faction, as the other did;

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did ; only with this Difference,
That Father *Paul* laid the heaviest load upon the Legates and the Court-Party, and the *Cardinal* lays it sometimes on the one, sometimes on the other Faction; but generally on the Party that was for Reformation. In a word, no man that is not quite blinded with prejudice, can think, after he has read the *Cardinal's History*, that the Holy Ghost had any special influence on the prevailing Vote in that Council; and it is as easie for a man to believe that the Success of a Session of Parliament, and those Acts that are carried by the Authority of the Prince, the policy and dexterity of the Ministers, and the zeal and industry of some Patriots, flow from the
special

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Special direction of the Holy Ghost; as that the Council of Trent, according to Palavicini's Relation, was conducted by the Infallible Spirit of God, in making their Canons and Decisions; for we plainly see the same Intrigues and Practices, the same Arts, either to take off, or satisfy the opposite party, and the same Conduct and Method in the one that is in the other. The Resolving the House in a Grand Committee, was the ordinary practice of that Council; for a General Congregation was the Council in a Grand Committee, and this was an excellent Demonstration of the Legates great Distrust of the Holy Ghost: For they would never put any thing to the hazard of a Vote in a Session,

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tion, till they were sure of it, by putting it to the Vote in a Congregation; and if it went not there as they had a mind it should be, then they were to practise a little longer, till they had made the major Vote sure; and then when it passed in a Congregation, the Legates held a Session. He would be looked on as a man of great extravagance, who would study to impose on any body that is acquainted with the Methods of holding Parliaments, That there is any other Direction of God's Spirit than that Universal Providence that watcheth over and orders all humane Actions, accompanying or governing their Proceedings. Men are not so tame as to suffer such Mistakes to pass, and he that would make

use

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use of his Wit or Eloquence; to perswade any to such an Opinion, would be so generally cried down, that people would not hear him in patience.

What must we then judge of those who would make us believe that the Council of Trent was infallibly directed, when we plainly see by the Historian of their own Court, that it was managed with the same secret motions and springs, by which other Princes carry what they desire from the Assemblies of their several States? and I dare safely challenge any that has read that History, to shew me any step or motion that is different from all other Secular Councils, or that does not clearly shew that they not only did not expect an infallible Direction,

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rection, but knew they had it not; and therefore were to supply that defect by other Political Arts; and it is an undertaking well worthy of a Jesuit's Candor, to perswade the World that the Holy Ghost was among them, when their own deportment shews they themselves knew there was no such thing.

There is another Observation on the Cardinal's History, which is the chief Subject of the following Reflections, That he knowing most of the abuses in the Court of Rome, which from thence have spread over their whole Church, were things that could not be denied; and that it was no less evident that all the Decrees about Reformation, made at Trent, have
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been ever since neglected by the Popes, goes about the excusing of that which he could not deny.

The Scheme he lays down is this, That Christ designed a Temporal Monarchy in his Church: That men being but a composition of Flesh and Blood, we must not expect any high Reformation, nor raise things to that pitch, that only holy and good men will enter into the Service of the Church: That to maintain this Monarchy, and invite Great persons into the Interests of the Church, there must be vast Dignities and great Preferments: That these must be supported by some things, that taking things simply seem corruptions; but as men are, must be not only born with, but encouraged; therefore

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Non-residences, Pluralities, Dispensations, Indulgences, Privileges, Exemptions, with a Thousand other Abuses in the Datarie, must still be kept up; since they are necessary for bringing in that Revenue which must support the Monarch of the Christian Church, and his Princes, the Cardinals; who, if they lived in the simplicity and poverty of the first Ages of Christianity, could not attract that Esteem and Reverence from a Carnal World, which keeps up their Greatness and Authority. It is true, Christ and his Apostles took other methods, and by their wonderful Holiness, and constant Labours, planted the Gospel: But the Church was then in its Infancy, and needed Milk; but now that it is grown up to a full Age, it requires stronger Food, and Motives that prevail more

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on the Appetites and Interests of frail men.

It were to be wish'd that good things were well done, and that the Church were cleansed from all Abuses; but these are the Idea's of Speculative persons, who know not men, and understand not Business; and therefore all Reformation's that are not practicable, and cannot well consist with mens corrupt Interests, are to be rejected; and those who promote them, are either weak, though zealous, or factious and discontented persons, who design to beat down the Greatness of the Papal Monarchy, by withdrawing from it those necessary Supports.

And may not such a Scheme of Maxims be well called a New Gospel, proceeding from New Lights? This the Witty and Judicious Author of the fol-

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following Reflections, thought was so great an injury to that Church, of which himself was a Member (being as I am credibly informed, of the Sorbon) that he would needs expose it; which he thought might be better done by bringing the Cardinal's Maxims under some Heads, and laying them together, with the Consequences that naturally flow from them, than by any laboured or learned Confutation of them. And indeed they do at first view discover such an opposition to the Spirit of Christ, and the Gospel, that no man who has a right taste of the one, but must see it in the other.

The Reader will be easily able to judge whether a Church founded upon, and governed

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by such Maxims, be liker to be
a *Babel* raised up, and carried
on by humane Arts and carnal
Policy, or a *Jerusalem*, built on
the Foundation of Christ and
his Apostles. And indeed the
Cardinal has fully satisfied us,
That whatever respect the Court
of Rome pretends for Tradition,
and the Doctrine of the Anci-
ents, that is only because they
think in some points of Contro-
versie to have the better of the
Protestants with that Weapon,
yet in their hearts they despise
the Rules & Opinions of the Fa-
thers, as the fond conceits of Chri-
stianity in Childhood, & far short
of their Refinings in Policy;
and therefore though there are
many things practised and en-
couraged among them, which
the Ancients not only knew no-
thing

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thing of, but hated with a perfect abhorrency; yet their Sentiments are not of sufficient Authority to make them throw out any thing that brings them in advantage; and any Objection from the Fathers, get no better Answer than this, That the Church was then but in its Infancy; but as she grows older, she becomes wiser than Christ or his Apostles were. These are excellent Arguments to perswade men to hold the Decisions of that Council, or the Practices of the Roman Court in high estimation. In all this Palavicini was much to be pitied; for both by other parts of that Work, and some other of his Treatises, it seems he had good Notions both of Virtue and Devotion; but

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it was his Misfortune to undertake a Work which could not be finished without touching it in several places with such a Pencil.

It is observed of men bred all their Life in Schools or Cells, who have never gone without their Precinct, nor conversed in the wide World, That when they appear in publick, they mix their Works or Discourses with many Conceits which they think witty and fine, but appear extravagant, antick and ridiculous to the World, who vouchsafe them no better Name than Pedantry. So fares it with one bred at or about Rome all his Life, where the Abuses of that Court, through a long practice, are legitimated, and easily coloured over with some slight

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slight excuse, which passes there, because either men dare not speak out what they think, or the want of Ecclesiastical Learning, and of a deep sense of the Pastoral Charge, makes them soon satisfied with any Answer, since they understand not the weight and force of the Objections that lie against those Abuses. But whatever operation such things may have about Rome, when they once pass the Mountains, and are seen by men more disinterested and awake, they appear so foolish and childish, that no man needs to be at the pains to confute them; it is enough to read or hear them.

The following Discourse was with much care suppressed beyond Sea, yet found its way in-

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to *England*, and fell into the Hands of one who was so Generous, as to oblige the Nation, by putting it into their Language : His Translation as far as I have compared it, is exact and true ; the only Fault that I found in it, is from his great care to be faithful, which has made him follow the *French* phrase too near in some Passages : But for a Translator, this is to err on the safer side.

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The only Rule of the Politick Church Government, is, its Felicity according to the Flesh, in this World, and in the other, under the Authority of one sole Monarch of the Universe, who is the Pope; to whom all Christian Kings are Tributaries and Subjects, and who hath, or ought to have for his Inheritance or Demean the Riches of all the World, whose Honours and carnal Pleasures make the Churches Splendor and Felicity. Jesus Christ hath merited them for her by the effusion of his Blood, to render her Visible, Perpetual, and Remarkable, as the most happy according to the Flesh, of all other Republicks, that are, that shall be, or that ever were upon Earth.

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Twenty Reasons that prove the Necessity of the Riches, Honours & Voluptuousness of the Church, to make thereof a Gospel according to the Flesh, the Vocation of all the World to Faith, and a part of that World to the Ecclesiastick Life, without which, Riches, Honours and Voluptuousness; the Church having no Reputation among them who fancy those things, would perish, not being able to subsist happy, according to the Flesh, if her Ministers were poor, as formerly, and if they had not vast Riches, as the Glorious Cardinals, who are at this day the Pope's Courtiers: Here also shall be shewn the unluckiness, the shamefulnes, and even the Vice of Poverty,

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verty, whereof God in his Providence, is no Author, but Sin; or only Fortune, which on this score, may be accused as the Enemy of Virtue.

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CHAP. V.

Here are related the Twelve ordinary means, intriching the Court of Rome, and maintaining the splendor thereof, according to the flesh, which is the act of all Religious Policy, the most pious, and the most important. The Twelfth and most efficacious of those means, to teach every where the Gospel according to the Flesh, and this Religious Policy according to the Doctrine of Aristotle, to whom the Church is beholden for many Articles of Faith; is to establish Colleges of Jesuites, with power to set up the Inquisition;

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tion, and to be high Commissioners in that Holy Office; to make out process against all them who shall differ from the sentiments of that Philosopher. And that these Jesuites shall have a general grant of all Privileges granted to the other Monastical Orders; although St. Bernard hath blamed those privileges; for on the other hand they be approved by Nicholas Machiavel. p 204

CHAP. VI.

Here be related the Interests and different Sentiments of the Catholick Christian Crowns, and Republicks according as they are more or less favourable to this Religious Policy according to the Flesh, and 'tis made appear that there's none more opposite than those of the Crown and of the Church of France,

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France, *which proposed no less at the Council of Trent, than to throw down the Churches Monarchy and Empire, and to take away the splendor of the Court of Rome.* p. 231

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THE
NEW POLITICK LIGHTS
OF
Modern Rome's CHURCH-GO-
VERNMENT.

OR,

*The New Gospel according to Cardinal
Palavicini, Revealed by him in his
History of the Council of Trent.*

The Design and Partition of the Work.

THis Work is divided into six Chapters. In the first, by the Cardinal's own Words will appear the Necessity, the Utility, the Nature, and the Excellency of that same Religious Policy which renders men happy in this world and in the other.

This Policy, to be true, ought to be, according to *Aristotle*, and according to the
B *Flesh*,

Flesh, which distinguishes it from the false Policy of *Mahomet*, that's pure Tyranny; and from the indiscreet and scrupulous Policy of certain zealous and weak Ignorants, who not believing that one may be happy in this world and in the other, carry the Virtue Policy into the excess of an ideal and extravagant Reformation, as Pope *Adrian* the 6th would fain have done, who in sooth was a most special Priest, but a very ordinary Pope; *Ottimo Ecclesiastico, Pontifice mediocre.*

In the Second Chapter are related and refuted five general Maxims of those zealous and scrupulous Ignorants who pretend that Religious Policy ought to found the Rules of its governing upon that which should be according to God, and not upon that which may be agreeable to the Flesh in the state of corrupt Nature, and who believe that what is best to be done, is also best to be commanded; following Antiquity, Councils and the Vote of a Commonalty of private Bishops, which these zealous people regard as little Kings *Il volgo de Rè*, and as so many small Popes in their Diocesses *à guisa di Papi*; whereas by Rules of the Policy indeed, the Pope cannot consider them otherwise than as little Bishops, *piccioli Vescovi*; Babies, *Fanciulli*; indiscreet Zealots, *per indiscrezione di zelo*; Impertinents, *impertinenti*; Insolent, *insolenti*; Buffoons, *Buffoneschi*; in a word, unruly headstrong Coach-horses, still ready to run away

away with the Coach, *Una Carozza trasa da Cavalli che volino*; & Ignorants, who cannot skill the manage of the *Roman Court*, *inefferti di maneggio*; all as these Qualities may belong to them some or others respectively.

In the Third, will be made evident, that the only Rule for politickly Governing the Church, is its felicity according to the Flesh in this World, and in the other, under the Authority all-puissant of a King, sole Monarch of the whole Universe, who is the Pope, *Signore del Mondo*; of whom all his Christian Kings are Tributaries and Subjects, *Molti Regni al loro Monarca*; whose Revenue is made up of the riches of the Universe, *avendo per patrimonio le sostanze de' sudditi*; & whose Honours and Pleasures make the splendor & carnal Felicity of the Church. That Jesus Christ hath merited this Church by the effusion of his Blood, to render it visible, perpetual and remarkable, as the most happy according to the Flesh, of all other Republicks that are, that shall be, or ever have been upon Earth; *questo governo disegnato da' Christo più felice che sia in terra.*

In the Fourth, will be alledged Twenty Reasons proving the necessity of the Riches, Honours and Voluptuousnes of this Church, to make thereof a Gospel according to the Flesh, and a Vocation of all the World to her Faith, and part of that World to the

Ecclesiastick State: Without which Riches, Honours and Voluptuousness, the Church, having no reputation among them who fancy those things would perish, not being able to subsist happy according to the Flesh, if her Ministers were poor as formerly, and if they had not vast Riches, as the glorious Cardinals, who at this day are the Pope's Courtiers; *Gloriosi Cardinali*. Here also shall be shewn the unluckiness, the shamefulnes, yea, and even the Vice of Poverty, whereof God in his Providence is no Author, but Sin, or only Fortune, who on this score may be accused as the Enemy of Virtue; poter' accusar la Fortuna come nemica della virtù.

In the Fifth, will be related the Twelve most ordinary Means to enrich the Court of Rome, and to maintain the Splendor thereof according to this World, which is the most important and the most pious action of all the *Religious Policy*.

The Twelfth and most effectual of these Means is the establishing of Colleges of *Jesuites*, to teach the New Gospel, and this same *Religious Policy*, all according to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, with power for them to set up the *Inquisition*, and to be High Commissioners in that Holy Court, making out Process against all them who shall differ from the Sentiments of that Philosopher. And over and besides, with a general Concession to them of all the Priviledges granted

Rome's *Modern Church-Government*.

ed to the other *Religious Orders*, although found fault with by S. Bernard, *Non sodisface pienamente à San^o Bernardo*; because on the other side they are approved by *Machiavel, per Confessione dello stesso* Nicolo Machiavelli.

In the Sixth, will be discoursed the Interests and the different Sentiments of the Catholick Christian Crowns and Republicks, in relation to this same *Religious Policy*, according as they are more or less favourable or opposite thereunto, it will be made apparent that there is none of them more opposite than those of the Crown and of the Church of France; *la qual tendeva ad abbattere la Monarchia e levar lo splendore e l'imperio della Corte Romana.*

The Conclusion will be, That the *Council of Trent* ought to be taken and interpreted after the sense and meaning of this same *Religious Policy* according to the *Flesh*, that makes men happy in this world and in the other, not in the sense and meaning of those zealous Ignorants, who would have all observed that is ordain'd by that Council, & would thereby establish their Ideal Reformation. But in the sense and meaning of those who would follow the Doctrine of this our Cardinal; according to which, by leaving to the Pope full and whole power in the Shop or Office of *Dispensations*, *Sopra la bottega di dispensazioni*, to grant them as he pleases, and even to derogate from the Canons, it will clearly be seen, that that Council

B 3

brings

brings incomparably, more advantages to the Church, than the Heresie either of Luther or Calvin have caused Losses or Mischiefs to it; *maggior accrescimento di bontà per mezzo del Concilio che non fu scemato dall' istessa Eresia*; because being taken in that sense, it teaches men a Policy and a Gospel according to the Flesh, with the means to be happy in this World and in the other. This will be henceforward, as our Cardinal promises to himself, an invincible Defence of the Catholick Religion against all the Hereticks, Infidels and Atheists who may have the presumption to write against it, or against the *Council of Trent*: For it can be no longer doubted but that the Holy Ghost assisted in a special manner at that Council, to hinder that it should ordain nothing but what might be profitable to the Church; the Hereticks themselves having taken up and owned those words of Monsieur de Lansac, the French Ambassador, which are since become so famous throughout the World; That the Pope sent every day from Rome the Holy Ghost to Trent in a Cloak-bag; *Lo Spirito Santo veniva portato nella valigia*: For, though at first blush these words seem impious, yet by means of the Scholastick interpretation that this Cardinal bestows upon them, he makes subtilly to appear that their sense is exactly true, solid, Catholick, and that there are no longer any but Ideots that are able to perceive in those words any shadow.

or appearance capable to startle their weak and ignorant Devotion. Lo how it hath steaded the Cardinal to have passed a Master in School-Divinity, and *Aristotle's* Philosophy; and Lo wherein this Philosophy is profitable to the Church! for he that knows well how to handle it, turns against the Hereticks themselves the Shot which they thought to discharge against her. And in fine, from what they say, that the Holy Ghost was sent by the Pope in a Cloak-bag to that Council, one proves the assistance of the Holy Ghost in that Council; so then the Hereticks must own they are overcome. And whoso does not approve the Government of the Church, such as it is this day under the Pope's Royalty, according to the Rules of this our Cardinal's Policy, must manifestly be either a Fool or a Seducer; *Chi per approvare una forma di Republica non si contenta di questo, o è insano, o è seduttore.* And so all good religious Politick Christians ought to pray God, quoth the Cardinal, that it would please him to cause the Spirit of *S. Peter* to live still in all his Successors, as it lives now at this day in him that reigns. *Preg-hino Iddio che faccia vivere stabilmente com'oggi vive lo Spirito di San' Piedro * ne' successori.* * *Alexand. VII.*

CH A P. I.

*The Necessity, the Utility and Excellency of Religious Policy ;
It renders men happy in this world
and in the other.*

ARTICLE I.

According to our Cardinal, there is nothing more important for a Christian, than to be a good Polititian ; and it was to instruct Christians in the Maxims of the True Policy, that the Cardinal undertook his History of the Council of Trent : This Policy is that of the worldly wise, for the establishing of which, Jesus Christ preached the Gospel, that he might teach men to be happy in this world and in the other.

Aristotle saith, That a man who sins and commits, for example, Murder or Adultery, believing that those Actions are good, does more mischief to humane Society

Society by his Error, than if he knew those Actions to be ill, and yet would not leave off committing them: *Secondo Aristotele sarebbe più nocivo al commercio umano chi uccidesse e adulterasse, persuaso tali azioni esser buone, che consapevole della loro malizia.*

*Hist. del
Conc. di Tr.
l. 14. c. 13.*

Which makes one perceive that there is nothing of greater import, than to instruct the understandings of men, and cure their Errors; but chiefly those Errors opposite to true Policy; because Policy is the first and supream of all the Moral Virtues; *la quale è la suprema delle virtù morali*: the reason of this Virtues excellency is, for that it hath for Object the common Good, which is the noblest of all Goods: *Essendo ella uno studio del ben' commune ch' è il più nobile di tutti beni.*

l. 5. c. 16.

Ibid.

Hence, according to the same Aristotle, it being so that the corruption of the greatest Good brings forth the greatest Evil, *Il peggior Veleno risulta dalla corruzione dell' ottimo*, it follows, that there is no Error more pernicious, nor no Crime rendring men greater Villains, than false and corrupt Policy; *La quale è il più scelerato de vizii*; because 'tis contrary to the greatest of all Goods: *Si come contraria à quel prestantissimo Bene*: So that there is nothing more important, than well to distinguish between Policy taken in the vulgar sense, *di huomini volgari*, and the true Policy of Knowing and Learned men; *Trà la politica vera intesa da' scienziati*; for false and corrupt Policy is accursed. *Questa Politica es-*

*l. 1. c. 13.
& l. 7. c. 2.*

l. 5. c. 16.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

secranda.

- secunda.* The reason is, That that Policy, instead of proposing for its End the Good of all men, and how to render them happy in this World and in the other, either proposes to it self but the welfare of one single man only, whom it makes all men beside to serve; rendering them miserable, to hatch out of their Misery the Felicity of that one man; like the *Turks* Policy, throughout the whole Extent of his Dominion: *Qual è la Politica del Dominio Turchescha*: Or else in proposing to it self the the welfare and felicity of all Particulars, it sets awork to arrive thereunto, nothing but extravagant Conceits; *Concetti stravaganti*; such as are the Thinkings of some zealous and scrupulous Ignorants, without Experience: *Personne zelanti ma inesperte*: Therefore there is nothing more imports than to enlighten the Understanding of man, which alone makes up the man; *che solo e l'huomo*, and to make him better by giving him knowledge of the most important Truths; that is to say, those Truths which compose the Policy of the Learned: *Per migliorare l'intelletto co'la notizia d'importantissime verità per ammaestrare il lettore nella Politica.* By the Learned or Knowing, I mean, quoth the Cardinal, those who skill the World; *Periti del Mondo*. The Design then that the Cardinal hath proposed to himself by setting forth this History of the *Council of Trent*, is to defend and maintain the Catholick Religion by the Policy,
4. 5. c. 16.
- Introd. c. 10.
1. 16. c. 10.
- Introd. c. 1.
- Proem.
1. 1. c. 5.

licy, and according to the Policy of those
 who skill the World; *Quest opera ch' è una* l. 22. c. 5.
diffesa della Catholick Religion; and to make
 you see that the Policy of the Catholick
 Religion according to the World, is that
 which is true; because that by following
 its Maxims, a man is happy here below,
 and in the other Life. Wherefore, quoth
 he, I do undertake to defend the Judgments
 given by all the Earth Assembled in the
 Council of Trent; *Però difendendo io nel* introd. c. 2.
giudicio del Mondo; and therein I maintain,
 goes he on, the Cause not of one private
 Client, but of the whole Catholick Church;
Non un privato Cliente ma tutta la Chiesa Ca-
tolica. So he pretends to make you see in
 the Proceedings and in the Decrees of the
 Councell of Trent, that the present Govern-
 ment of the Church being formed accord-
 ing to the Rules of worldly Policy, and
 being the most profitable to the true com-
 mon Good, that one can imagine according
 to the Flesh, in this world and in the other,
 is that Government which Jesus Christ
 himself, who is the Wisdom Incarnate,
 came to establish upon the Earth, and
 for which he hath shed his precious Blood,
Questo governo disegnato da Christo. l. 1. c. 25

ARTI.

ARTICLE II.

The Church may be considered in two manners; according to the Flesh, and according to the Spirit; and so these are two sorts of Felicity or welfare of the Church; Jesus Christ had them both in view.

TO comprehend perfectly the Mystery of this Religious Policy of the worldly wise, know ye that the Church may be considered in two manners, quoth Father Diego Lainez, Second General of the Jesuits; the first, according to the Flesh, the second according to the Spirit; *secondo la Carne, secondo lo Spirito*; according to the Spirit, quoth he, the Church is the Temple of Charity; *Scanz a di Carità*; according to the Flesh, she is the Fountain-head of all temporal profit, *Fonte di utilità temporale*.

l. 23. c. 3.

Ibid.

So that according to these two Considerations of the Church, a man may conceive two sorts of common Good and Felicity; the first according to the Spirit; the second, according to the Flesh: The Felicity after the Flesh, is that of the World, which consists in Riches, Honours, Pleasures, Glory, Splendor and carnal Delights: The Felicity after the Spirit,

Spirit, is Divine, and works a supernatural course of Life. *La vita suprammana.* 1. 8. c. 17.
 This Felicity is the Object of Heroick Virtues; *Virtù eroica.* The Felicity according to the Flesh, is humane, civil and temporal; *Felicità civile; Humana felicità de fidei che rendono felice la Republica in terra,* 1. 24. c. 8, & 10.
 and the hope of this Felicity makes all civil and humane Virtues to bud and spring 1. 1. c. 25.
 out; *fa germogliare le insigni virtù,* and 1. 8. c. 17.
 renders man happy according to the Flesh *Ibid.*
 in this world: Whereupon it follows that true Religious Policy ought also to be carnal, because it ought to have for Object, the making the Church happy, not only according to the Spirit, but according to the Flesh, and to bestow on her a Felicity not only Divine, and of the other Life, but humane, temporal and earthly, in this world; now there be none that can better judge what that true Felicity is, than those that be Sages after the Flesh; that is to say, worldly wise; *periti del mondo secondo la Carne;* and so for to know well what is the true Policy of Jesus Christ, one needs but to know what that is of the People of the world, not of the Vulgar, but of the knowing and enlightned World, whose Maxims our Learned Cardinal goes on here to teach us.

ARTICLE III.

Jesus Christ came to establish the most
commodious kind of Government for
the Humane and Temporal Felicity
of the Believing; yea, and that is
the most Religious which is the most
Commodious.

LET us suppose, quoth the Legate *Alexan-*
der, sent by Pope *Leo* the Xth, to the
Diet at *Worms*, That Jesus Christ were rea-
dy to change the Government of the Church,
and to fit it to our convenience, *Fingiamo*
che Christo sia pronto di mutar la sua chiesa
a comodo nostro, do ye think he should
change it from that which we see it at
present? Surely no; So then we ought
to conclude, that Jesus Christ hath fitted
his Church with such a Government that
there can be none imagined more conform
to humane Felicity after the wish of the
worldly wise, and after the Flesh. Now
it is certain, that the desire of all after the
Flesh, is to be happy in this world as well
as in the other; so then conformably to
this Wish hath Jesus Christ formed his
Church; *Che Christo ha formata la sua Chie-*
sa in quel modo et è più conforme eziandio
all' umana felicità.

Also the same Pope *Leo*, to extinguish

Luther's

Luther's Heresie, gave in charge to his Nuncio's, to represent to the Emperour Charles V. That it was necessary to destroy that Heresie, for Three Reasons: First, In regard of the eternal Salvation of the Flock of Christ. There's the Divine Reason that respects the Life to come. *Per l'eterna salute del grege Christiana.* The Second, For the Quiet of the Politick Government. *Per la Tranquillità del Governo Politico.* There's the Humane Reason, and the Humane Interest of this Life. The Third, For the Preservation of the Apostolical Principality. *Per la Conservazione del Principato Apostolico.* There's a midling Reason, betwixt Divine and Humane; for that the Pope is Mediator betwixt God and Man, betwixt Heaven and Earth; *Il mezzano fra il Cielo & la Terra;* that is to say, a Mediator that knows perfectly well how to make agree together the two Wisdoms, that of God, and that of the World, that which is spiritual, and that which is temporal; and 'tis even in this that the perfection of Religion consists, and which, by consequence, makes up the height or top of *Religious Policy*, which tends to make men happy in this World here, and in the other.

I. I. c. I.

ARTICLE IV.

The Measures and Rules of the Churches Government, according to the wisdom of God, ought to be taken from the Publick Good; that is the End that Jesus Christ had in view.

TIs certain, that the Common Good, being the End and Object of Policy, is the Measure of all the Judgments, of all the Laws, and of all the Actions of that Policy; for example, to judge wherein consists true Honour, even temporal; and according to the times, we must fall to examine what is profitable for the Publick Good; for there is no other true Honour: So that the Common Good is the measure of all Politick Judgment, *Il vero onore di cui è misura il ben publica*: And the Policy that is guided by this End, is that of the truly Learned and Knowing men, *Politica vera intesa da scienziati*.

On the contrary, 'tis Popular Judgment that is not guided by the Common Good, but forms its Conclusions upon another Principle. The good which popular judgment proposes to it self either for Principle or End, is not a true Good, but an Idol, that witless and unruly Heads forge and work up according to their Fancy:

cy: *Onore popolare ch' è un Idolo fabricato* I. I. c. 26.
da ingegni stolidamente feroci.

Now for to discern well what is the true common Good of the Church, there needs no more, but to mark what is the common Good that Jesus Christ had in view when he instituted the Government of his Church; for the end is the measure whereby we judge what is good and fit to be done in all actions, *sine ch' è la misura dell' opportuno* I. 2. c. 2. *in tutte le azioni*; through knowledge of the true common Good, a man ought to judge of true or false policy.

The true is founded upon Virtue; and upon Zeal, the false, upon Fraud and private Interest, *i fondamenti nella virtù e nel* Ibid. *zelo, ò nella fraude e nell' interesse*; By means of these politick Virtues, a man arrives to the politick Felicity of this Life, which is the recompence of them, and which consist in Riches, Honours and Pleasures.

ARTICLE V.

For to know well the Common Good which Jesus Christ had in view, a man should judge thereof by the Doctrine of Aristotle, and other wise Heathens. Luther's Heresie had never happened but through his slighting of Aristotle.

IF Jesus Christ had taken for the End of his Policy, only the common Good after the Spirit, and not according to the Flesh, and temporal Conyenience, without doubt it would not have been safe to consult Aristotle and the wise Heathens, to know the Nature of that common Good which Jesus Christ had in view, and the Qualities thereof; but Jesus Christ having it in view to fit up the Government of his Church on humane Felicity, whereof it is capable in the judgment of the worldly wise, 'tis not possible that he should teach contrary to the Teachings of Aristotle and the Heathen Sages, *come si la chiesa di Christo predicasse ch' e contrario non dico a l'insegnamenti d' Aristotele ma d'ogni tollerabil' repubblica de' gentili.* Jesus Christ was the Wisdom Incarnate, the Source of all true Wisdom, be it never so Paganish; so then he did establish the Government of the Church the best that could be, in the judgment

l. 7. c. 9.

judgment of the worldly wise, though Pagans. He never prescribed her a Government to be changed for a better; for can any body be persuaded that Jesus Christ did form a Government that was not the best of all? *dovremo noi persuadere che la sapienza incarnata istituìsse la sua chiesa con un governo il qual non fosse de' migliori?* 1. 8. c. 7. To judge then what's the Government that Jesus Christ established, one needs only to judge what is the best of all Governments according to those that be Sages of this World; for one Wisdom never opposes another Wisdom; the Fountain is no enemy to its own Streams. The Philosophers were Sages according to Sense, according to Flesh, according to humane Reason; thereafter they knew the common humane Good, and what was best for Commonwealths; it is not possible then that Jesus Christ having the same Good in view, should lesson us contrary to the Teachings of the Philosophers.

And in effect, there is no doubt but if *Plato* and *Aristotle* lived in our dayes, they would experience that there was never Commonwealth more civil, more politick, better improved, more noble, and more virtuous than the Catholick; *se Platone ò Aristotele vivessero à nostri giorni esperimentassero che nessuna Repubblica è ò fu mai più culta, più nobile, più virtuosa, che la catolica.* 1. 12. c. 3.

It follows then, that the common Good of the Church considered according to the

Flesh, hath nothing that is contrary, and which is not extreamly conform to the Publick Good; such as the Philosophers set it forth. All the Difficulty that they had in their times, was to find out means to establish that publick Good; and to make it practicable; and this is that which Jesus Christ hath done in a manner, which the Philosopher would have been very capable of, and very much satisfied with.

It chanced that *Luther*, not being willing in his Doctrine and Practice, to follow the Maxims of *Aristotle*, slighting that Philosopher, through that slight, his Heresie gained ground; which, as it was contrary to the Principles of *Aristotle*, so did *Luther* endeavour to destroy the reputation of that Prince of Philosophers; *mà perche si fatta dottrina appariva contraria à principii della retta filosofia insegnata da Aristotele, procurò d'estinguer la stima di questo filosofo come d'huomo che scrivesse molti errori contro alla fede.*

Slighting of *Aristotle*, hath also caused, that *Luther's* Sect never had any Writers of

l. l. c. 17. a much elevated Genius, *il disprezzo d'Aristotele fece che fra lui sequaci appena può annoverarsi scrittori di rilevato intendimento.* Those Hereticks laugh at that Philosophers Arguments so full of Learning, reducing all they taught, to the understanding of the Greek and Hebrew Tongues, *ridendosi degli argomenti scietifici, & di quanto insegnava Aristotele*

l. l. c. 23.

Aristotele il tutto reducevano all' intendimento della lingua greca & dell' ebrea.

Carlstad cursed *Aristotle*, whose Doctrine, said he, corrupted Divinity, *Carlostadio* ma-
lediceva Aristotele, la cui dottrina avesse co- 1. 3. c. 13.
rotta la Teologia, and as for *Luther*, he plotted to ruine that Philosophers Reputation,
machinava d'abbattere Aristotele nella filosofia. 1. 1. c. 3.
 Here was that then which destroyed them, they did not know how to piece the Policy of *Jesus Christ* and that of *Aristotle* together; for at last, let them say what they will, it is certain that if *Aristotle* had not writ, and so taught the Church to distinguish well, she would have lacked at this day a many Articles of Faith, for which she is beholden to that Prince of Philosophers,
di ciò si doveva in gran parte l'obligazione ad 1. 8. c. 19.
Aristotele, id quale se non si fosse adoperato in distinguere accuratamente i generi delle ragioni, noi mancavamo di molti articoli di fede: Paul Solove thinks *Aristotle* to be jeered by this Discourse; but our Cardinal-Historian doth indeed approve of *Aristotle*, and not jeer him, and makes the Truths of *Aristotle* admirably to appear.

ARTI-

ARTICLE VI.

Through the slighting of Aristotle, Luther would not endure that Interest Humane and according to the Flesh, should have its share in Government of the Church; he is followed by certain zealous Ignorants: One ought to shun that their Excess.

TIs neither permitted, nor expedient, said *Martin Luther*, to regulate Divine things by Humane Interests, *non esset ne lecito ne spediente regular le cose di Dio con gli umani interessi.*

He rejected not this conduct of Affairs, but only because it did plainly shew that Kings might be stirred up by the Motive of humane respects, as well as by that of God's Interests, to set themselves against that Heresie, *che per rispetti così divini come umani possono muovere i Rè & i Regni Christiani à perseguitar Peresia.* Now Humane respects be those we call Humane Reasons, which have for Object humane Felicity according to the Flesh: Jesus Christ had in view this Felicity as well as *Aristotle*, and their Sentiments make up a judgment the most humane imaginable, and opposite to that Censure (forsooth) of those same zealous ones, which is a Resolve Ideal and impossible in the Practice, contrary to Experience, and which doth not proceed but from

from Ignorance of the things of the world. This Censure or Opinion cries nothing but *Reformation, Reformation*; which is nothing but Idea and Extravagance, *quella riformazione ideale per cui gravada il zelo imperito di persone per lo più non esperte; conceiti stravaganti*: Thus 'tis plain, that the Government of the Church ought not to be regulated by the judgment of those, who have not experience of the World: 'Tis properly this Experience that makes up that which is called Knowledge of the World, after the which also, Jesus Christ did form the Government of his Church.

ARTICLE VII.

The Discernment of zealous and scrupulous Ignorants is very different from that of persons that have experience of the world, and knowledge of the Times.

² **T**Is certain there be such zealous persons, without experience of Civil Affairs, and the present course of the Politick world, *persone zelanti ma inesperte negli affari civili e nel corso del presente mondo politico*, who have none of those Lights which afford that experience, *mente illuminata da perizia*. This sort of zealous Folk have

- have their minds enlaved to vulgar Opini-
 ons, *intelletto schiavo delle opinioni volgari*;
 on the contrary, there be that skill the
 world, *periti del mondo*, able for practice,
un huomo praticissimo negli affari del mondo,
 which are none of your retired people, that
 are wont to feed themselves with *Idea's* and
Ibid. Speculations, *un ideale & ritirato specula-
 tivo*.

These People being no strangers to the
 Court-breeding at *Rome*, have thoughts ex-
 alted above those vulgar ones of others,
Introd. c. 6. *concetti non volgari, pratiche della corte Ro-
 mana*; these be persons of business and in-
 telligence, *l. 21. c. 4.* *persone pratiche ed intendenti*:
 Their eyes are vers'd in and used to the af-
 fairs of the world, *l. 17. c. 10.* *occhi periti delle facende
 civili*. The difference that is between the
 sights of these two sorts of persons, is,
 that the first are still on all occasions po-
 ring on *Idea's*, and are ravished in contem-
 plation of abstracted forms and Universals,
 which have not any proportion with the
 dispositions of the matter, and which by
 consequence, are incapable to come to good.
 But the others give close heed to those
 particular circumstances which are wont to
 meet in the success of things; and to make
 them take effect, the first propose nothing
 but speculative regulations and ideal refor-
 mations, the success whereof is impossible;
l. 17. c. 10. *ristrutturazione ideale & non riuscibile*; the
 others, propose regulations and reformations
 discreet, possible, and likely to come to
 good,

good, *riformazione discreta che poi successe e che la prudenza de' padri stimò rinfrangibile: Censura umana e non ideale.* Whereupon, the Cardinal concludes in these terms, Let's leave them to *Plato* his *Idea's*, and let's go upon practice, *lasciamo à Platone l'idea, veniamo alla pratica.* Introd. c. 9.
l. 1. c. 25.
l. 12. c. 13.

But in fine, the better to make it be comprehended what one ought to understand by those *Idea's*, that a zealous indiscreet and ignorant person would have to be followed in Government: One cannot tell how to give a better Example on't than that of Pope *Adrian VI.* related by this Cardinal-Historian.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Example of an Ideal extravagant Polititian in Pope Adrian VI. his Carriage.

'TIs certain that Pope *Adrian VI* was a special Priest, sayes our Cardinal, *fu Ecclesiastico ottimo.*

l. 2. c. 9.

He was so thrifty as to his Person, and in his Household, that out of his very thrift, he was near able to raise the Succors he had need of to assist, as he propos'd to do, the *Christians* against the *Turk*, *à si gravi spese non bastava la parsimonia da lui usata nel proprio sostentamento.* l. 2. c. 3.

One

One might say that he had quite forgot
Flesh and Blood, *la pienissima oblivione della*
carne e sangue.

l. 2. c. 3.

Not only he never sought that Dignity,
but contrariwise he was terrible doubtful

l. 2. c. 7.

whether to accept or refuse it, *ondeggio*
tutta la notte nella deliberazione di consentire o
di ricusare; and when his Election was assu-

red, he was so little concern'd for it, or
mov'd with it, that this indifference ap-

l. 2. c. 3.

pear'd Blockishness to those which distin-
guish not heroick Virtue from the insensibi-
lity of a foolish Spirit, *mostro ben sì una*
inalterabilità che parve stupidità a chi non
distingueva l'eroico dell' insensato.

At last, it was not the desire to com-
mand, that made him accept this so impor-
tant Dignity, but fear to disobey God;
nor yet much less design to enrich his Kin-
dred, but desire to reform the Church, and
to fulfil all the Duties of the Sovereign
Pontiffe, or if one may so say, of a good
Pope.

He was besides very Learned, he had
been long while Professor in Divinity, his
Life had been alwayes exemplary, and he
had been, as *Aaron*, called to all the Char-
ges, through which he passed, as well as to
that of Sovereign Pontiffe; he was born
poor, he loved the poor, and Poverty; the
Hereticks as well as the Catholicks did ac-
knowledge these his Virtues; but for all
that, says our Cardinal-Historian, he was a
very ordinary Pope, *ma in verità mediocre*

Pon.

Pontefice, because he was too free and too sincere, *Adriano troppo aperto*, he loved free and open persons without artifice, which caused, for example, that *Cheregas's* humour pleased him, *per che Cheregato fosse* 1.2. c.7. *di natura apertissima e pero grato al Pontefice*; his Nature being candid, he hated and abhorred all Artifice, *essendo proprio delle nature* 1.2. c.3. *candide com' era quella d' Adriano d' aborrir ogni artificio*; this made him ill beloved of the Italian Nation; for as that Nation is ingenious, so 'tis the property of, ingenious Natures to be crafty, *essendo proprio delle na-* *zioni ingegnose com' e l' Italiana l'esser artifiziose.* *Ibid.*

So that here all the ill that could be observed in this Pope, was an Heroick Virtue, according even to this Cardinal-Historian; but for all that, he was but a mean Pope, because he had not the Industry, the Address, nor the Skill to distinguish amongst the Italian Artifices, Truth from Disguise and feigning, *mancandogli la perizia per distinguere il simulato dal vero.* 1.2. c.3. There is extream much therefore to be said against him, that he had not Prudence more accommodated to the Circumstances of the Times, and one would have been glad if his Zeal had been accompanied with less indiscretion, *ha fatto in lui desiderare maggior prudenza e* 1.2. c.7. *circonspezione un zelo non affatto discreto.* He acknowledged too sincerely the truth of the Abuses which had reigned in the Court of Rome, under those who had immediately gone

gone before him in the Poppedom, *il vitupe-
rar si agramente i prossimi antecessori.*

Adrian VI thinking therefore seriously upon Reformation of the Court of *Rome*, it seemed to him in the first place, that he ought to retrench the Revenue of the Datarary, and those Fees that were exacted for the Expedition of Bulls and other Graces which were granted at *Rome*; but as he knew not the sage Lessons of Experience, and the judicious reasoning which she furnishes her Disciples withal, *questi discorsi somministrati dal magisterio sapientissimo dell'esperienza.*

The good man did not see that those Designs so zealous were no other but abstracted *Idea's*, pretty indeed to contemplate; but that yet the form of them had not any agreement with the dispositions of their Matter, *che i suoi zelanti disegni erano idee astratte, bellissime à contemplarsi, ma non forme proporzionate alle condizioni della materia.*

'Tis the most essential point of all Policy, to discern if the form be proportionate to the dispositions of the matter; that is to say, if Laws carry an agreeableness to the gust and inclinations of People for Times, Places, and other necessary Circumstances.

Here is for example, a Maxim of *Cheregat*, *Adrian's* Nuncio at the Diet of *Nuremberg*, that evil ought not to be admitted that good may come thereof, *non doverse tollerare i mali affinche ne vengano i beni.* This Maxim taken thus universally, is not true; it appears by the

the permission that is given to lewd women to exercise their commerce in quiet, without any bodies being suffered to trouble them, *come si vide nella permissione delle meretrici*: In effect, this Maxim is not true, but in case where the permission of some ill would cause a greater ill than would come by punishing it; but on the contrary, when one is willing to stop an evil, and a greater would come of it, assuredly one ought to tolerate it; so that one of the most important points of Religious Policy is to discern between the evils of the Abuses, which ought to be quashed, from those which ought to be suffered; as for example, dishonest and lewd women are suffered by the Rules of the fleshly Religious Policy. But as in occasions, where things seeming alike are to be deliberated, mens sentiments differ, and they are fertil in apparent Reasons of one side and the other, *le deliberazioni umane sono fertili d'apparenti ragioni per ogni parte*. So the most important point of all the fleshly Religious Policy is to know in whom the Supream Authority to govern the Church, ought to reside, and what Rules ought to be followed, that one be not deceived in making a judgment, and too, that the Church be more happily governed according to the Flesh. Our Cardinal maintains that above all, one should have a care of those zealous persons, *persone zelanti*, but without experience of civil affairs, and the politick course of the present world,

1. 2. c. 8.

1. 9. c. 10.

ma inesperte ne' gli affari civili e nel corso del presente mondo politico: such as Pope Adrian the VI. was. A Pope like unto him, that forgot Flesh and Blood, is not fit for this kind of discernment. Heed must also be taken of a Policy simple, sincere, and without mask, as was his, which had not been refined in any famous Court, such as be those of Italy, senz' affinarsi nell' eccellente scuola della frequentza.

1.8.c.17.

As this is a point of the utmost import, so ought the general Maxims of those zealous Spirits to be related, that a man may keep from them as a pernicious poison of the publick Tranquility, *concetti stravaganti veleni della publica tranquillità.*

1.17.c.14.

CHAP:

CHAP. II.

ARTICLE I.

*Five Errors and poisoned Maxims of the
scrupulous Policy of the zealous Ignorants
according to the Flesh.*

THe first pernicious Error of the zealous Ignorants is, to pretend that one should live in the Church as one ought to live according to God, and that the Laws of the Church were regulated and formed by that Principle.

The contrary Maxim is, that the Laws of the Church ought to guide men according to the Flesh, and commodiously having regard to the corrupt inclinations of their Nature.

The Second pernicious Error is, That that which is best to be done, is best also to be commanded.

The opposite Maxim is, That the best to be commanded, is that which can be done commodiously according to the Flesh, and not that which should be the best to be done according to God.

The

The Third pernicious Error of the zealous Ignorants is, That the Church ought to be governed according to the Rules of Antiquity.

The opposite Maxim is, That the Church ought not to be governed according to the Rules of Antiquity.

The Fourth pernicious Error is, That the Church ought to be governed by the way of Councils.

The opposite Maxim is, That the Church ought not to be governed by the way of Councils.

The Fifth Error is, That the Church ought to be governed by every Bishop in particular, according to the portion of the Episcopacy fallen to him, which makes in all the Bishops but one and the same Unity of Episcopacy *in solidum*.

The Fifth opposite Maxim is, That this Opinion is seditious, and that the Church ought to be governed by one only Bishop, King and Monarch of all others.

'Tis true, quoth the Cardinal, if one would take the measure of Good from the Idea of what it ought to be, the Church in the condition wherein we see her, would appear most dreadfully deformed, *vero è che se vogliamo prendere la misura del buono dall'idea di quello che dovrebbe essere, la difformità senza dubbio rimane grandissima.*

Now

Now it is from the *Idea* of what ought to be, that the Zealous take the measures of their Policy, and they would fain have Laws made to oblige the Church to live as it ought to live; for example, that Charity should be regulated by that which Gods Love requires, and as the hope or fear of an eternity of Heaven or Hell requireth, *da ciò che merita un Dio, e un eternità di paradiso o d'inferno.* *Introd. c. 8.*

They will not by any means that things should rather be regulated according to that, which one man can in reason no more but expect in the times wherein we are, who are, as it were, the Dregs of *Adam's* corruption, where our Republick to be governed, is not composed of any that be perfect, but of so many Millions of the imperfect Believing of the old and new world, *e non più tosto da quello che può sperarsi in questa feccia d'Adamo.* *ibid.*

The true *Religious Policy*, according to this Cardinal, doth lay it then for a general Maxim, that for to make Laws, one should be guided by the disposition of the people, who being imperfect; ought to be regulated according as God and Nature hath set them into the world in these our times; *dovendo governare gli huomini quali Iddio e la natura gli producono al mondo;* and a Form must be proposed proportionate to the dispositions of the Matter; that is to say, propose Laws accommodated to peoples humors, and not introduce *Idea's* found-

ded upon what ought to be, having relation to God, *dignè Deo*, as *S. Paul* speaks; From hence this Cardinal leaves it to be concluded, that the Laws of the Church ought not to be such as they should be: for example, if one were obliged to love God by an Act of Love, as a Divine Virtue; if one were obliged to tend to the perfection of that Love, if one were cursed, doing the work of the Lord negligently. This is ignorant Folks Zeal, *zelo imperito d'alcuni*, to confound what's best to be done, with what's best to be ordained, as if one was the other, *che confondono l'ottimo à farsi con l'ottimo à comandarsi*, not perceiving that Laws are then worst when they prescribe what's most excellent, that is to say, a perfection impossible, *le leggi tal ora son' pessime quando prescrivono l'ottimo, ciò è una perfezion inosservabile*.

Intr. l. 10.

Ibid.

l. 1. c. 25.

Thus to make Laws according to the true carnal Policy, one must take great care if one would bring it to good, to cause that they be observed, *che poi successe*, looking out first to see if there be any likelihood of success in the Reformation pretended, *reformation rinscibile*; for on the contrary, if Laws be made where there is no appearance, they will bring in the Reformation proposed, those Laws become a poison in the Policy. 'Tis important then that one be instructed how to take well his measures to make Church-Laws, that the success thereof may be infallible; for one ought not to imagine with

Intr. c. 10.

with the Zealous Ignorants, that Antiquity must be followed, *Usaronfi per l'antichi tempi, adunque deonfi rimettere in uso.* Antiquity ought not to serve for a rule to the present Church, neither ought she to be governed by Councils and Bishops assembled: on the contrary, there is no conjunction of Stars whose influence can be more perilous to the Church than that of Councils is; *non si può imaginar congiunzione di più pericolosa influenza che un synodo generale.* l. 21. c. 6. l. 16. c. 10.

The Church ought not to be governed by Bishops, every one according to his share of Episcopacy, as if it were all but one Episcopacy in it self common to the Bishops and the Pope; it is a seditious Doctrine to pretend this solidity, *quella sediziosa dottrina.* This Cardinal busies himself in the following course of his History, to confute these Errors, and to establish the opposite Maxims to purge the poison of these Errors out of the Religious Policy of the Church; and he concludes very well from thence, the necessity of a Monarch, that may be the Head of the Church, Emperor and King of the whole Universe, who is as the Soul and the Form of the Church, to inform it, animate it, and direct it, according to the Laws of true Policy, which is that according to the Flesh, *secondo la carne.* Ibid.

ARTICLE II.

The first Errour of the Zealous Ignorants refuted: which is, That by the Laws of the Church, men ought to be obliged to live as God's Love requires, and the Hope of Paradise, and the Fear of Hell; there ought to be grateful Laws made, and commodious for corrupted Nature.

LAws are corrected and change according as they are approved by the People who make the trial of them, *non è stato mai al mondo alcun senato ne sacro nè profano le cui leggi non habbiano in qualche parte ricevuta la correzzione dalla prona.*

Wherefore, though even one should have hope enough of success, yet before Laws be stablished, 'tis prudence first to try and see what may be grateful to the generality of the World, in case ones Laws should take effect, *talora è prudenza il tentare eziandio con dubio dell' evento chio che se riuscisse sarebbe grato al commune.*

So that the Rule to be given formaking of Laws, is the disposition of the people to receive them; otherwise if they be not grateful to them, it would be Ignorance and indiscreet Zeal to offer violence to corrupted Nature.

Now

Now to judge of the inclinations of people, we ought not to consider those which they would have had if their nature had remained sound, but those which they have, their nature being corrupted by Adam's sin, *in questa feccia d' Adamo*. For God will not tear out of our hearts those inclinations we brought into the world when we were born, *non vuole Iddio svelter da gli animi le innate inclinazioni*; for example, men in the corruption of their nature, have a dread of Poverty and of taking pains, which doth accompany Poverty, the poor being forced to labour to get their living; men in their corrupt state love Idleness, the dread then that they have of poverty, ought to be kept up in the spirits of men, *in tal' maniera si mantiene l'horrore verso la povertà come compagnia dello stento*. Introd. c. 8.
l. 1. c. 25.

Look ye, here is the inclination that the Religious Policy according to the Flesh, ought for to nourish, whence one ought to conclude, that Riches making one part of mans Felicity, 'tis a sin not to seek to enrich ones self. Likewise corrupted Nature is ashamed of Poverty, she finds it a shameful thing; this thought makes one afraid, either for ones self, or for ones posterity, *turpis egestas, temuta da lui o in se stesso o nella discendenza*; what should Religious Policy according to the Flesh then do? should it disable men of these thoughts? No, on the contrary, it ought to cherish these thought, going along after them, and accommodating l. 9. c. 9.
Ibid.

Laws thereunto; This is the very Cardinal's consequence. If one would seek the reason of it, 'tis visible there can be no other but that corrupted nature in pursuance of this same horror, this same shame, and this same dread of Poverty will seek for to enrich it self, and such seeking is a great virtue; for that every Act that serves to a man's Felicity, is an act of Virtue; so that corrupted Nature will shun Idleness, which is a sin contrary to the carnal Felicity of the Christian Republik, which causes even the rich to fall into poverty, which is opposite to their Felicity; whereas, if Religion on the contrary, should teach people that labour and pains-taking, far off from being dreaded, is a thing enjoined, even to be done by the rich, that poverty, far off from being a state of it self shameful, is the first of the Christian Beatitudes, as our Lord hath preached in his Gospel; this same Belief would at least render the man indifferent, both in regard of Riches and of Poverty, and falling into poverty, he would believe himself happy in that state of Humiliation that Jesus Christ chose for himself; so that fear, horror and shame would not oblige him any more to labour to shun poverty, and get riches; that Christian and Spiritual indifferency would make him less eager to work, as well as to get more quiet, and less careful of the Morrow, which would not be profitable for the carnal Felicity of the Christian Republik, nor by

con-

consequence, conformable to Virtue.

The same would come to pass, if the greatest portion of the Goods of the Church were employed for relief of the poor, and not to enrich Priests and Church-men; for what a thing would that be, that Nature-corrupted-men, as the poor be as well as others, should find, when they came to be poor, such great Estates and abundance settled upon them? *che charebbe quando vedessero l. 9. c. 9. una provisione abbondante e sicura per tutti i poveri.* This supposed then, pursuant to the inclinations of Nature corrupted, shall the Religious and Carnal Policy, which is the true, establish for Law, that the best and biggest portion of Church-Revenues be employed for relief of the poor? Nay but to enrich Church-men, and make their Felicity according to the Flesh.

If the Zealous maintain, that the best and biggest share of Ecclesiastical Revenues ought to be employed for relief of the poor, *che la prima e principal parte delle Ecclesiastiche entrate doverebbe applicarsi a poveri e non a ministranti,* the Religious and Carnal Policy will condemn that Maxim as directly contrary to the happy estate of that Republick, to the Institution of God and of Nature, *ed io affermo che ciò sarebbe Ibid. un costume dirimpetto contrario al felice stato della republica ed à gl'istituti di Dio e della natura.*

So too corrupted Nature loves Voluptuousness, yea and she invites men to all their

Actions by the Motive of some pleasure; as for example, to eat and drink, to the end to taste what's delicious in those Ali-
 1. 9. c. 9. *ments, la natura medesima c'ensignò questa prudenza invitando gli huomini a mantener la propria vita col diletto del cibo.*

Corrupted Nature hates all that is less commodious and less delectable than that which she is wont to taste or enjoy in the life one uses to lead, *all' orecchie loro suonera, sempre molesta la vita men' commoda e man dilettevole della passata*; and this affection is so natural to man, that one may observe it practised even in Communities the most mortified and holy, *e questo affetto è sì naturale dell' huomo che suole sperimentarsi in ogni comunità eziandio più mortificata e più santa.*

Ibid.

1. 1. c. 25.

What shall the Religious and Carnal Policy do then? Shall it root out those inclinations of corrupted Nature to pleasure? God does not will it. *Non vuole Iddio svelle dagli animi le innate inclinazioni.* Shall it teach a man that he is obliged in usage of things to have no more but what's precisely necessary for him to do a virtuous action, and not to do that virtuous action by the alone Motive to find pleasure therein according to carnal sense? 'Tis visible, that if Christian Religion should establish these Maxims, Christians Lives would be a continual Mortification, and all that eagerness which makes men bustle to advance themselves, enrich themselves, and enjoy humane Felicity according to the Flesh, would
 be

be deadned. This would be the ruine of our Carnal Policy, which is the most excellent of all Moral Virtues, whose Object is carnal Felicity; Riches, Honours and Voluptuousness, what ought this Religious Policy then to do? See ye here what it ought to do according to our Cardinal. The Hea-then they set before corrupt Nature Voluptuousness, which nourishes Vices, which are ever linked to Idolatry; the Church ought to set before Christians such pleasures as may serve for remedy against Idolatry; and as pleasure for pleasure, if it were equal on both sides; so corrupted is Nature, that she would prefer Idolatry before the Worship of the true God. The Church ought in such sort to deal, that in the voluptuousness which she presents to the people, there may be more and greater Dainties, and of that which tickles the Appetite and Senses, than in that which is tasted out of her Communion, that the pleasure may be greater in what she makes use of to cure Vices, than in any voluptuousness which Paganism or Heresie can make use of to nourish them, *ed è conforme non solo alta pietà, l. I. c. 23. ma eziando alla politica, il far che i teatri più sontuosi e più dilettevoli sian quelli dove il vizio si medica, non dove si nutre;* for example, quoth Nuntio Alexander, the People will have Stage-plays and Sights, they love the pleasure thereof, *vuole il popolo i teatri,* shall the Church then make Laws against Stage-plays, Comedies, and the love of Pleasure?

Pleasure? No, she will accommodate her self to that natural inclination of the people, and bring it so to pass, that there shall be more pleasure in the Shews she sets forth for Christians, than ever were in the Pagan Shews: Here is that called true Religious Policy according to the Flesh, to cure the love of Pleasure by bestowing more carnal pleasure upon a man within the Church, than one should have had remaining out of its Communion. This is the Religious Policy that Jesus Christ came to establish in his Church, quoth this our Cardinal, to signalize his people upon Earth by the Prerogatives of their pleasures,

l. i. c. 25,

questo governo dissegnato da Christo per signalare in terra con manifesta prerogativa il suo popolo; 'twas for the establishing of this Policy that he died. Here look ye, the felicity and common Good of the Church according to the Flesh, is the Object of this Virtue; the first and most excellent of all the moral Virtues. 'Tis through this Religious Policy, that the Church, of her great Revenues, of her Honours, and of her carnal Pleasures, even makes the vocation of all men to her Faith, and a vocation to the Clergy-ship of as many as she pleases to call it, as shall be seen by and by. Instead of amusing her self to make Laws contrary to the esteem of Riches, of Honours, and of carnal Pleasures, she establishes that Maxim of true worldly Policy, to guide men according to the Inclinations of their Natures,

devendo

dovendo governare gli huomini, quali Iddio e l.9. c.9.
la natura gli producono al mondo; for God
 and Nature bringing them forth such as
 they be, there's no more to do, but so for
 to govern them.

ARTICLE III.

The Second Errour of the Zealous Ignorants, That the best to be done, is the best to be commanded; 'tis better to command that which is according to Nature, than that which would be better to be done according to God.

IT would be better to observe the Laws that are made; for Law is a Rule which in the time it was made, was esteemed the very best to govern well by, *la legge, il che* l.7. c.2.
vuol dire la regola riputata la migliore per buon, governo; and the Zealous Ignorants would have that a general Law, which enjoins the observation of the Laws already made, because it is the best thing that can be done. This was also one of the Demands which the French Ambassadors made at the Council of Trent, to wit, That that, and former Councils Orders might exactly be observed without being infringed by Dispensations: This was a request, quoth the Cardinal, that tended to no less than to undermine the Churches Monarchy, *che le* l.19. c.11.
costitu-

costituzioni fatte da Concilii non cadessero sotto dispensazioni, la qual domanda tendeva ad abbattere la Monarchia. This in effect, was the 28th of the 34 Articles of Reformation, which the Ambassadors proposed to the Council; That there might be no dispensing with the Canons which forbid Marriage within the Degrees prohibited, unless in favour of Kings and Princes for the publick Good.

'Tis very easie to make the Poison of this Error manifest, That what is the best to be done, is the best to be commanded, whether one considers it in relation to Divine Laws, that direct the inward affections of the heart, or whether one considers it in relation to the Humane Laws of the Church, which can but direct exterior actions, it is wholly throughout pernicious. As for the inward Affections, God being the great invisible Good of man, it is certain, that to love him by an act of Love, as a Virtue Divine, would be the best; as also to set ones affection more upon that invisible Good, than upon that which is seen; but is it best to say, that God hath thus commanded it? No, because that that Command would not be accommodate to the condition of the most part of men which are within the Church, who set their affections more upon what is seen, than upon what is not seen, *molti maggiormente i s' affezionano à quel che si vede che à quel che si crede.* This same Law of Love would not be grateful to them, being corrupt

corrupt as they are. Likewise to be willing and endeavour to arrive to a perfect actual Love of God, would assuredly be best; but would it be best to preach that men are thereunto obliged by Commandment? No, without doubt, by the same reason of this same Cardinal: so, to say, that he which does the work of God negligently is cursed; one sees clearly the venom of such like Doctrine, and how many persons it would cast into despair; here's what regards the Divine Laws, which regulate the motions and affections of the inward man.

As to the humane Laws of the Church, which can regulate but outward actions, suppose one should make a Law obliging Christians to observe all the Canons indistinctly, as the Council of Trent hath done, in these terms, *Sciant Universi sacratissimos Canones exactè ab omnibus & quoad ejus fieri poterit, indistinctè observandos; Sess. 25. c. 18.* There is no doubt but it is best to observe all the Canons; but is it best to command it? No, because that that Law would take away from the Princes of the Church the power to derogate from those Canons, and to shew favour therein to those whom they should judge fit, *derogando per ordinario alla legge; prima de due qualità che massimamente son bramate del principe: 1. 7. c. 2.* Now to derogate from Canons or Laws, in favour of those which one would gratifie, is the prime of those two Qualities desirable in a Prince, and this Quality is one of the most effectual that

that he can have : to vitiate and ruine this Quality, by taking that power from him, is most pernicious, *il pessimo suole essere una corruzione dell' attimo*; so that it is also manifest in this respect, that it is a most pernicious Error, That the best to be done, is the best to be commanded.

This may be remarked in the Laws made by the *Council of Trent*; for if the Pope should observe them, and not shew favour when he judges it fit, the Spring of at least half his Graces and Benefits would be at a stop, *se'l Papa vuol' osservare quelle leggi, il fonte della sua benefizenza asciugasi per metà.*

Now the power to do good, is one of the two Hinges whereupon Veneration for Powers moves and is upheld, *la facoltà di benefacere è un de' due cardini sopra cui sostienfi la generazione de Principati,*

The respect that men have for Princes, is the firmest Basis of their Empire and of their Authority, *quella venerazione ch' è la base del loro Imperio.* The Popes Authority is the Ground-work of the Church and of its Government according to the Flesh, as according to the Spirit, *del qual governo la base è l' autorità del Pontefice.*

So to follow the order of all these Truths, and to conclude from first to last, 'tis manifest, that to lay this Maxim, that the best to be done, is also the best to be commanded, is to lay a Principle that destroyes the foundation of the Church; and see here

of

of what importance it is to disabuse humane understanding concerning the false Maximes of Zealous Ignorant men's Policy, Vulgar Souls, Slaves of Common Opinion.

That which is the best to be done, is desirable, must be agreed, but more desirable than possible, *più desiderabili che possibili*. It is more desirable than commodious for mens conditions; Nature it self hath a regard to what is convenient for the state of men, and avoids that which is not sutable for them according to Tempers and Times wherein one is, and with whom one lives, *non adattate alle condizioni degli huomini come* Ibid. *fà la natura ed allo stato del mondo che portano i tempi.*

'Tis then very evident that the Laws of the Church ought to be grateful and accommodated to the inclinations of corrupt Natures, such as they are, and not such as they ought to be with relation to God. To well govern the Church, there needs but to observe how the present times go, and after what fashion men live; for if the Law hath man for its Object, and as it were its Matter, yet he also is as it were Agent, in regard of the Law, and upholds himself in all the inclinations which he hath brought into the world, and in all the habitudes wherein he hath been engaged, *i quali hanno per attori e per soggetto gli huomini che sono di fatto al mondo e con l'inclinazioni e con l'usanza che di fatto hanno.* 1. 6. c. 4. This is a reason why

why Right must be regulated by Fact, and not Fact by Right: Right is immoveable in its nature, and he that would stay there, should never do any thing; and this is again one of the pernicious Errors of the Zealous Ignorants which we are a going to refute.

ARTICLE IV.

The Third Error of the Zealous Ignorants; That Antiquity ought to serve for a Rule to guide the present Church; This Error comes from the Instinct of the Devil; 'tis a folly to believe, that what is Ancient is best; the ancient Laws were in the Churches Infancy.

THe Reverend Father *Diego Lainer*, in that Famous Discourse which he made in the *Council of Trent*, touching the
 l. 18 c. 15. Reformation of the Church, *voto famoso*, speaking of re-establishing Elections according to the ancient manner practised in the Church, says, That they which would renew those Usages, and other like ancient Customs, were moved thereunto by the
 l. 21. c. 6. instinct of the Devil, *Coloro che volevano rinovare tali usi antichi muoversi per l'instinto del diavolo.* That the French were instant
 to

to have that old Usage re-established, but he doubted the miseries of that Kingdom were a chastisement from God upon that Nation; for having in some sort separated themselves since the time of the Council of Basil, *dubitar egli de Francesi come di tali che forse l. 21. c. 6: erano castigati da Dio ne' presenti infortunii per qualche loro separazione fin dal tempo di Concilio di Basilea.* Their Reason, quoth he, is, that it was wont to be thus done in the first Ages of the Church, so that those Elections ought to be brought into use again, *usaronsi per gli antichi tempi adunque Ibid. deonsi rimettere in usu:* And I, replies that Father, say the contrary; it hath been wont to be so used; therefore one ought not to fet it up again, *più tosto seguirne il contrario.* This is the reason of it; since it was wont to be so used, it had never been left off; if there had not been inconveniences observed; in that Custom such there were observed to be in it, and for that reason it was left off, and by the same reason it ought not to be revived, *percioche s'erano sperimentati loro inconvenienti e pero elle dimeffe. Ibid.*

For why would the Church have quitted her ancient Customs of discipline, if she had not perceived that Discipline followed with inconveniencies? Is the World at this day less wise than it was at the beginning; it would be a great folly to believe it.

'Tis in effect a great one, quoth this our Cardinal, to imagine that all that is

E.

old

1. 23. c. 10. old is best, *è gran' folia il credere che tutto l'antico fosse migliore del moderno.* The Church

1. 8. c. 17. had its Infancy, *infanzia per così dire della chiesa*, in that time she was little, and the number of the Faithful was not great, as

Ibid.

since the believing persons are become, *quando il numero de' fedeli non era ancora ben cresciuto.* Now, that which is thought, and that which is done in Childhood, hath not the advantages that Age is wont for to bring; so that that which is ancient now, is but that which was thought and done when the World was but young, and as

1. 23. c. 10. one may say, a Child; *l'antico era pensato e fatto del mondo ancora moderno:* but that which is new, is done and thought in the

Ibid.

World's ripe and full-grown Age, *e per contrario il moderno, del mondo già divenuto antico:* So that it is an Errour which would fain set up again the ancient Customs of the Church, and of her Discipline, such as were in the Apostles times, and in the first Ages: 'Tis, as one may say, to make the Church fall back again into Childhood, *nell' infanzia della chiesa.*

1. 1. c. 25.

Now is there any man grown up to years, that would fain be for the Teat again, to live as he did when he was a Child? *né il giovane potrebbe tornare al vitto che usò bambino.* Is it not ridiculous then to think the same may be done in a Body Politick, as that of the Church is? *così parimente accade ne' corpi politici.* So that the present Policy of the Church ought to be regulated,

Ibid.

gulated, not upon that which the ancient Popes did heretofore, but upon that which in likelihood may be brought to pass in the present state wherein she is, *misuriamo quel che può riuscire secondo il presente stato del Christianesimo, non quel che i Pontefici hanno fatto altre volte.* l. 1. c. 25.

ARTICLE V.

The Simplicity of the Ancient Councils opposed to the Courtliness and Regal, which the Legates Presidents at the Council of Trent shewed towards Philip II. To go about to re-establish the Ancient Simplicity, is to put men again to live upon Acorns. The Change that's made in the World, is not for the worse.

TWould be a ridiculous Blindness, and an Extravagancy never to be justified, if it should be proposed to retain the Wonts and Ancient Simplicity of the Church in its Councils, *onde saria schiocchezza derisa ritenere lo stile de l'antica simplicità nell'Ecclesiastiche radunanze* l. 6. c. 4. For as in the Councils of our Times, the greatest Princes of the Earth have concernments, and are therein interested, *di cui sono partecipi i maggiori Ibid, principi della terra;* Should it be a vanity

blameable and criminal to use a little of it, as the Legats of the Council of Trent did towards Philip the Second, when he passed through that Town, to go into Spain, and he was there magnificently regaled by those Presidents of the Council; As for me, quoth our Cardinal, I do not believe I can be taxed of vanity, if I recite in my History the Ceremonies of that Feast, *ne*

l. II. c. 13. *per' mi dannabile di vanità il narrar le cerimonie che vi seguirono.* For after many other Feasts in the Honour of that Monarch, the Legates caused to be erected 300 paces from the Town, in a little Isle upon the River of *Adige*, a Palace of excellent wood-work, hung within with rich Tapestry, adorned with Painting and excellent Statues: In this place they gave him a most magnificent Feast, accompanied with charming Musick; at the end of the Meal, according to the custom of *Germany*, began the Ball; the Prince danced there, and the Ball was follow'd with diverse Tiltings and Plays; where were represented the principal Feats of Chivalry described in *Ariosto*, whose Poem came forth a little while after, *seguirono le danze, ove ballò il principe stesso.*

ibid.

There was never seen the like in the Times and Places of the ancient Councils. Did *Constantine* dance and lead the Ball at the Council of *Nice*? *Theodosius* at the first of *Constantinople*, &c. What appearance mean while or likelihood should there be to make the Church at this day go back

back again to that Ancient Simplicity, and hinder Princes, for example, from leading the Ball at Councils? I shall be asked perhaps, quoth *Alexander*, Nuntio of Pope *Leo* the 10th, in the Diet of *Worms*: But did they live so in the first Age? Come si l. i. c. 25. *viveva ne' primi secoli?* I shall answer, quoth he, that by the same Reasoning one might undertake to persuade men to live upon Acorns; because they say, that in the primitive times of the World, men made their Meals thereof, *ma con questa forma d'argomentare si potrebbero ridurre gli huomini à cibarsi di ghiande, perche leggiamo che così negli antichi tempe si viveva.* Ibid.

By the same reason, continued the Nuntio, one might undertake to persuade Princes to live like the first Founders of States, without Guards about their Persons, without Anti-Chambers in their Palaces, *i Principi à star senza guardie, senza anticamere;* one might exhort Princesses and their Daughters to wash Boucks, and in Sope; to spin and sew, as whil'om did *Augustus* his Daughters, with their Mother; that Master of the World not being willing to be cloathed but with the Stuff they had spun with their own hands, *le figliuole de'* Ibid. *Rè à lavar i panni.*

But does not one know that Humors change with Age; *chi non sa che si come ne'* Ibid. *corpi humani si mutano le complessioni e bisogni secondo l'età?* It would shew finely, if one should follow this day in Building, the

Rules of Architecture 400 years ago,
 1.6.c. 4. *l'architettura di quattro cento anni sono; as if*
 a Body should sing, or as if one draw the I-
 mages that are adored in our Churches after
 the Model of those times, *la pittura di quel*
tempo nell' adorate imagini degli altari, la mu-
sica di quel tempo nell' armonia sacra del
coro.

The Maxim then that one ought to oppose
 to that of the Zealous Ignorants, who do not
 know the World, is to tell them in gene-
 ral, Change of Times, change of Customs,
 1.23.c. 10. *altri tempi, altri costumi.*

The World being at this day refined, or
 at least much changed, Civil Commerce and
 Policy hath also received changes, and 'tis
 as by a common consent, that change in Po-
 licy hath brought in the same proportiona-
 bly in treating Ecclesiastical affairs, *Essendosi*
adunque ò affinato ò almeno mutato il sentimento
degli huomini e il commercio civile, è conue-
nuto che à proporzione di quello si mutino an-
cora le maniere di trattar gli affari Ecclesiastici.
 In good deed, men at present have their
 inclinations conform to the present times,
 and not to the times past: Why should they
 not have their Usages and Customs in Ec-
 clesiastical affairs conform to the present
 times? and why should they be obliged to
 follow the old Customs of their Grandfathers?
gli huomini con l'inclinazione e con l'usanza
che di fatto hanno, e non quelli e non quali
furono à tempi andati.

Let no body say the World is at present
 worse

worse than it was formerly ; such Discourse is the old Tune, and the old Proverb of the Country ; these be complaints and lamentations of the Ignorant Vulgar, *il dire che'l mondo presente sia peggiore dell' antico, sono proverbii delle comedie e querele del volgo ;* to be surpriz'd thereat, is a sign one is but meanly bred, *privo di erudizione che ciò credesse.* To hearken to these sorts of common Proverbs, is to have ones mind enslaved, as they call it, with the Opinions of the Vulgar. 'Tis not true then, that the later Ages are more corrupt than the former ; 'tis true, the number of the wicked is increased, but that of the good is so also, because the Church extends further than it did then : And if any body says, The Church had formerly more holy men, one may answer again, and say, That at this day the present Church hath a greater number of believing saved Catholicks, though not so holy indeed as formerly, *se questa più seconda di santi, quella è più abbondante di salvi.* Introd.c.8.
l. I. c. 25.

These Truths being so evident, though the reading of my Book, quoth our Cardinal, produce no other fruit, at least, I assure my self, it will disabuse the world of these kind of popular Errors, *Io mi confido che la lezione di questa mia istoria, ove non partorisce aliro frutto, levarà uno scandalo assai commune da persone zelanti ma inesperte negli affari civili e nel corso del presente mondo politico, ciò e perche i Papi non usino à nostra* l. 16. c. 10.

et à di raunare i concilii come usavasi per altri tempi, come persuadono i canoni; for the Error of ruling the Church according to Antiquity, is one of those Errors of the Zealous Ignorant, of the same nature as is that of Government by way of Councils, whereof we are going to examine the extravagancy.

ARTICLE VI.

The Fourth Error of the Zealous Ignorants refuted; That the Church ought to be governed by way of Councils, as She was Fifteen Hundred Years together. The Provincial Councils are hard to assemble; the National have always been abhorred by the Popes; and the General have none but malignant Influences on the Church.

THE Reverend Father *Diego Lainez*, in the Famous Discourse he made in the *Council of Trent*, upon the Business concerning Reformation of the Church, speaks thus of Councils; As for Provincial Councils, they cannot be assembled, but with great difficulties, *Sinodi Provinciali congregare habent difficilimente.*

But that which ought to make them to be apprehended, is, that they may easily dege-

degenerate into National Councils, which would not be without great peril to the Church, *ma ben si ne sequeirebbono i Nazionali, con grave rischio della chiesa.* The Popes also have alwayes abhorred all National Councils, *Concilia Nazionale sempre aborrito da Pontefici,* because that those sort of Councils are not proper, but to excite Noveltyes among the Catholicks, *atto fra Catalici à suscitarne novità.* l. 14. c. 12. *ibid.*

Now although Noveltyes, as we have seen, ought not to be rejected, and that Ancient things are not all good, the Noveltyes that National Councils may produce, are all bad; and of all the Ancient Customs, that of having National Councils ought above all, to be looked upon as ill; and that is a laudable Novelty no more to call any of them. Now to discern well in Policy, the good Noveltyes from the bad, one needs but to observe the Rules which we have already laid down, to accommodate ones self to Times, Places, Humors of Persons; in a word, to fit the Form to the Dispositions of the Matter.

But to come back to General Councils, 'Tis not fit, quoth Father *Diego Lainez*, that the precedent Council do set the time when another should follow, as did the *Council of Constance*; because that would give advantage to the stubborn to appeal from the Popes Sentences to the future Council, and that would be to take away from the Church Obedience and Unity; *perchè*

l. 24. c. 3. *percie cio sarebbe data occasione a' contumaci d'appellar delle sentenze del Papa al futuro Concilio, togliendosi l'ubidienza e l'unita del Christianesimo.* Moreover, the Influences of a General Council could be no other but lamentable to the Church, *nel Cielo mistico della chiesa non si può imaginar conjunzione di più pericolosa influenza che un Sinodo generale.*

l. 16. c. 10.

'Tis with the Mystical Heaven of the Church as with the Visible and Material Heaven, where God hath placed that great number of Stars which we see, but all far off and separate one from the other by considerable spaces. If he should assemble them all in the same place, would it not be to destroy all Nature, and to confound it so in the Heaven Mystical of the Church? The Prelates are as the Stars, of different greatness; all would be lost in the times wherein we are, if they were assembled; and it cannot be undertaken without manifestly tempting of God, *sarebbe appunto un tentare Dio.* It is good to see the particular Reasons thereof.

Ibid.

The First Politick Reason against the holding of Councils.

Where-ever the greatest Number be assembled, there be many Opinions, as well as many Heads, and there be always differing Votes and Sentiments, which produces Division, *Dove sono più teste e più cuori ivi sempre è qualche discordia di pareri e di voleri.*

l. 1. c. 10.

Discor.

Discordance in Sentiments and Councils, is the Origine of Disputes and Contestations, *la discordia è l'origine del contrasto*; and as in the humors of the Body, so in the motions of the Spirit, contrast is a cause of corruption, *e' contrasto così negli umori del corpo come dell' animo è origine della corruzione*; Councils then are but a Spring of Divisions. Intr. c. 10. Ibid.

Reason II.

Every numerous Body of men, how holy and sublime soever the order of them may be, contains a deal of Ignorance, and is a source abounding with a spawning of passions, *mi è noto che in ogni ordine numerosa di persone benchè sacrosanto e sublime, talora si addensa molta ignoranza ed alligna molta passione*. Though they be Bishops which compose Councils, yea, though the Bishops were Princes of their Diocesses, though they were Kings thereof. There is a Populace even among Kings, said the Moral Philosopher very well, *e però ben disse il morale, che si dava il volgo eziandio di Rè*. Now the more a Populace assembled is numerous, 'tis manifest, the more Ignorance, and the more passion is there. Introd. c. 9. Ibid.

Reason III.

The Authority which reïdes in an ordinary and common Bishop, quoth our Cardinal,

dinal, is as it were a Tenure, or Jurisdiction, holding very much underneath that which gives the Purple to a man of Quality,

1.20.c.10.

tal bassezza d'autorità qual convenisse ad un ordinario Vescovo e non ad un nobilissimo porporato. The Popes are Elested by these Eminentissimoes, and are ordinarily of their number; but those little Bishops are not drawn

but out of the number of poor Priests of some unknown Diocess, and the multitude of them is infinite.

1.1.c.25.

una moltitudine immensa di piccioli vescovi eletti non frà un senato di Cardinali e dà un senato di Cardinali, mà da volgari Preti d'un angusto territorio. Now what good can one hope for from a great

troop of Bishops of this size? Cardinals are bred up in opulence, in the Crowd of the Popes Court, which is that of the whole World; there they take notice of the businesses of all the Churches of the Universe; from all parts there is an influence of Courtiers, all vers'd in Policy; 'tis there that mens Wits are refined. But these Bishoplings are confined with a pitiful Revenue, within the pent up Territory of their Diocesses, where they are content to snudge, and live wretchedly,

ibid.

che si contentino di confinarsi can poche rendite in angusto territorio. What Breeding can be got in this base kind of Education and Living, to make a Bishop able to argue in a Council upon Politick affairs, which he does not understand, nor has been ever able to learn, and to give after that rate Laws to the whole

Uni-

Universe, having no skill in the Worlds, nor the Court-shifts; how can they avoid being baffled in the publick or private Conferences, held in Councils with Persons, the most refined in Policy in the World, and with whom nevertheless, Measures and Resolutions must be taken; how should they be able to do it with any sufficiency, being never any more refined than Pope Adrian the Sixth was in any Court of Italy, still having kept in the Countrey, and in private dwellings, *nelle terre particolari*, l. 8. c. 17. *senza affinarsi in dottrina ed in senno nell' eccellente scuola della frequenza.*

What then can one hope for from such kind of Stuff assembled in Council, but that they will be hurried away through Passions, and gross Ignorance, and Inconsideration, which is not meet for Legislators, *gli affetti particolari si muovono talora da un solo sguardo inconsiderato.* Intr. c. 9.

Reason IV.

A multitude of petty Prelates without experience how to govern people, can but produce a like multitude of Sentiments, little regular, and Projects likely to trouble the Church, *in una moltitudine di persone per lo più non esperte del governo de' popoli si potea dubitare che sorgessero concetti stravaganti e di gran disturbo al ben della chiesa.* An example thereof was seen even among the Bishops assembled at the Council of Trent, *vescovi* Intr. c. 10.

- 1.5. c. 25. vescovi rauinati in Trento, i più di loro in-
 1.6. c. 7. sperti degli affari mondano. . . i vescovi chi
 per imperizia di maneggio, chi per discrezione
 di zelo, &c.

Is it not much to be feared lest the Whimsy should take these petty Prelates to decide once more again, as it was done at the Council of *Basil*, That a Council is above the Pope? *Era da temersi che non suscitasse la fastidiosa disputazione della maggioranza trà il Concilio e' l Pontifice.* Who does not see what trouble such a Decision would bring upon the Church? 'Tis an Opinion held erroneous at *Rome*, and condemned by a multitude of Divines and Canonists; *in Roma si tien per dottrina erronea e condannata dal torrente de' Theologi e de' Canonisti.*

Intr. c. 10.

1.9. c. 16.

Reason V.

Ibid.

What can be expected from a Council, but that which is called *Reformation*? Now 'tis certain, that alone the very word *Reformation* will sound alwayes ill, I do not say, only to the Ears of Church-Courtiers, but even to Communities the most mortified and holy, *à Porrechie suonera sempre molesto il vocabulo di reformatione, a questo affetto è sì naturale del huomo che suole sperementarsi in ogni comunità eziandio più mortificata e più santa.* The Sentiment is natural; *Reformation* is not beloved for what's meant by *Reformation*, but a life more strict, and less

less commodious, a life less pleasing than that which one led before, *il vocabolo di* l. 9. c. 16. *ristorazione cioè e di nuove strettezze, di nuove proibizioni, di vita men commoda, men dilettevole della passata;* Now who is it that loves to have his pleasures retrench'd? and who can be certain whether or no the Council may not drive on their Project of Reformation into *Idea's* impossible, and without any likelihood? *quella ristorazione* *Ibid.* *ideale non riuscibile.*

Reason VI.

Every Multitude falls into the one or the other vicious Extream; to err either by excess of animosity, or through lack of Courage, *è solito d'ogni moltitudine dar* *Intr. p. 10.* *negli estremi o di pusillanimità o d'animosità,* such was the disposition of the Bishops Assembled in the Council of Trent, *come* l. 5. c. 15. *suole in moltitudine congregata, hauean concetti guairardi;* 'Tis known how much a very small Wit can attribute to himself, and take upon him in every Punctilio of power and authority, when he believes himself mounted to that degree of honour, as to give Laws to the Church; *sapendo* l. 21. c. 5. *quanto s'aroghi ogni cervello l'habilità di fare statuti. . . misurando essi pretenzioni con l'* l. 7. c. 2. *eminenza del posto nel qual vedeansi costituiti in quel senato.* When a whole Assembly then goes too far and exceeds, it fails not to make Laws too violent, and too full of rigour.

rigour. So Pope Pius the IV, in the Instructions he sent to his Legates, compared the Bishops of the Council of Trent to Headstrong Coach-horses, ready to run away with the Coach; whom one ought not to check and hold in with ones utmost and direct force, lest they break all apieces, *essersi gli animi tanto infiammati nella carriera, che il ritenerli sarebbe stato con quel rischio di rottura e de sinistro col quale si tenta di subito fermare una carrozza tratta da cavalli che volino.* He took all manner of care that the Council should not make any such escape, as to make him work, *cercò ben talora che non se ne facesse qualcuna troppo guaiarda, nel che soglion peccar le communita e massime le nuove.*

Reason VII.

'Tis a very common Proverb, That one must do good to Children and Commonalties whether they will or no, *a fanciulli ed a comuni, convien fare il bene contra lor voglia.*

The People whereof every Commonalty and every Assembly is compos'd, are not able to govern themselves, otherwise they would never have been such Fools, as of their own selves to set up upon their own heads Masters to domineer over them, and they to submit under them, *se il popolo sapessero e potessero governarsi da se, non sarebbero stati sì folli che havessero sopraposti i domi-*

dominanti. Now how should one suffer those that are not capable to govern themselves, give Laws to others and govern them?

Reason VIII.

'Tis well known what power Hope and Fear have upon the Spirits of men; now the Bishops commonly being Temporal Princes Subjects, how can they be free from those humane respects? *sarebbon più valenti i rispetti del timore delle speranze e degli altri affetti che nul Pontefice, si per la sua grandezza, si per la sua lontananza;* and in effect, when Pope Pius IV was reproached, That he did not leave to the Bishops of the *Council of Trent* their liberty: He cleared himself thereof no otherwise but this fashion; That their Kings and other Princes left them less of it than he; so that their servitude was undoubted, and the business was no more but to chuse which Master they ought to serve.

Reason IX.

To verifie this shameful Servitude, it may be sufficient to relate some Examples of what passed in the *Council of Trent.*

1. *Martel Vescovo Fiesolano* having complained, That by reason of the Pensions imposed on their Bishopricks, and of the Priviledges granted to the Religious Orders,

F

there

1.7. c. 4.

Ibid.

Ibid.

there remained to the Prelates but only the vain Name of Bishop, *non restar ad essi quasi altro che nome vano di vescovi*; Cardinal *Farnese* answered on behalf of the Pope, That as to the impertinencies of the Bishop of *Fiesole*, his Holiness found it good not to proceed against him otherwise than by reproof and remonstrance, *quanto all' impertinenza del vescovo di Fiesole, sua Santità approva non proceder che di riprensione verbale*: So that the Cardinal *del Monte*, first Legat, having a passion to mortifie that Bishop, *bramoso di mortificarlo*, interrogated him publickly, Whether he persisted to say, That Bishops did hold upon Earth the place of Jesus Christ? *s'egli teneva come pur haveva affermato, che i vescovi sostenessero la voce di Christo in terre*? Whereupon, he was fain to explain himself, lest his Proposition should be qualified more rudely than with Impertinence; which, quoth our Cardinal-Historian, makes appear the Legates and the Popes moderation, *accio che apparisca la moderazione si de' Legati come del Papa*.

2. So were the Bishops of *Cadix* and *della Cava* served also; their Discourses were termed impertinent, because they had said, they reckoned they were not answerable for their Sentiments to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, *da Legati, dal Visconti, e dal Cardinal Borromeo*, *furon chiamate impertinenti*.

3. The poor Bishop of *Aliste*, being willing

ling to hold at a second Sitting, That Bishops were instituted Bishops by Jesus Christ, drew upon him the ill humor of Cardinal *Simonetta*, who told him in full Council, You are insolent, let others speak, *onde il Cardinal Simonetta gli disse ch'egli era insolente e che desse ormai luogo di parlare à gli altri.* l. 19. c. 5.

4. The Bishop of *Budoa*, speaking his Sence, alledged those Words of the Wise man, *All is Vanity*; the Legates did not believe that they were alledged on that occasion, seriously; so they wrote an ignominious Letter against him to the Pope, *una lettera ignominiosa*, wherein they called him Ridiculous and Buffoon, *gli raccontano i buffoneschi suoi moti*, and the Pope sent them word, that if they could not reduce him, they should turn him out; and drive him away as scandalous, *il mandassero via espressamente come scandaloso.* l. 10. c. 2. Ibid.

He that would reckon up all the trouble that the Popes had to master these kind of Bishops at the *Council of Trent*, and the pains the Bishops were at every moment to justify themselves towards the Popes, when they had spoken either about Residence, or the Jurisdiction of Bishops, as of Divine Right, or of some other such matter, would never have done. 'Tis manifest then, That Councils are neither pleasing to Popes, nor advantageous, nor desirable for the Bishops, where they are becalled Fools, Buffoons, Insolent, Impertinent, Head-strong Coach-Horses, and useless to the Church.

ARTICLE VII.

These Reasons did presently make the Council of Trent dreadful to the Roman Courtiers. These Reasons hinder Princes also from Assembling the Estates of their Kingdoms. It would be to tempt God, to be forward to call a Council: The unprofitableness thereof appears by the little or no Good that came of the Council of Trent.

liv. c. 10.

ibid.

I Believe in truth, quoth our Cardinal-Historian, That the Court of Rome dreaded and abhorred a Council, when that of Trent was proposed to be Assembled, *io credo veramente che dalla Corte di Roma fosse temuta, ed ancora in qualche tempe aborrita, la convocazione del Concilio.* But though that Court should have had no dread thereof, Sovereigns have alwayes very much apprehension, when the busines is about the Assembling their General Estates; wherefore they never call them together, but in case of extream necessity, *sapevano esser regola di tutti principi non adunare senza extrema necessità gli stati generali;* and this makes me conclude, quoth the Cardinal, that as long as the course
of

of the World is such as it is, it would be tempting of God to be forward to call a Council, unless out of very necessity, *onde* l.16.c.10.
*fin che il tenor del mondo procede così: il tentar-
 arlo, fuor che negli estremi bisogni, sarebbe
 appunto un tentare Iddio: Such an Assembly
 would threaten Schism and apparent Divi-
 sion, è un far congregazione che minacciasse* Ibid.
*evidente rischio di convertirsi in disgregazio-
 ne della chiesa.*

And besides, there would not come there-
 of any considerable Good; for 'tis clear
 the Reformation established by the Council
 of Trent, is very moderate, *quella riforma-
 zione sola si moderata e discreta che poi suc-
 cesse e che la prudenza de Padri estimò ri-
 usabile.* l.17.c.10.

Nevertheless, if the Pope should observe
 strictly this moderate Council, all would
 be lost; this troubled *Alexander VII*, at
 his coming to the Popedom; for at that
 time he was very zealous and desirous to
 re-establish Discipline, and retrench Abuses,
 he called to Council the ablest men of the
 Dattery, *periti delle facende della Dateria*,
 and speaking to them about the Dispensa-
 tions for Marriages within the prohibited
 Degrees, which were granted so common-
 ly at *Rome*, against the express Prohibi-
 tion of the Council of Trent; he told them,
 he wondred much at so frequent a going a-
 gainst the Decisions of the Council, asking
 them how it could possibly be that it had
 so passed into a Custom, *come passasse questa* l.23.c.18.

contrarietà usitata in Roma allo statuto Tridentino; That so frequent a contravention against the Judgment of that Venerable Assembly, appeared to him little praise-worthy, *pareva poco lodevole che si frequentemente si repugnasse al giudizio di questa veneranda assemblea*. They answered him, That this Custom began in the time of *Pius V*, a Pope of a signal and severe Goodness, and a religious Observer of the Council, and that there was no other Reason, but that of experience of the Fact, *che la ragione di questo discostamento del decreto Sinodale era stata l'esperienza del fatto*. He had seen that from the Decree of the Council of Trent ensued great and very considerable inconveniences in practice, and therefore that holy Pope made no difficulty to dispense therewith, even without having any other cause therefore. Thus the Council of Trent, for all its Prudence and Moderation, suffered it self to be carried too far away with its Zeal, and went too far into an Ideal Reformation, whereof mischievous inconveniences might have followed, if the Prudence of the Popes had not brought a Cure. What can be hoped for then from all the other Councils wherein there was never found so much Prudence and Moderation, as appeared in this last Council?

There be a-many other Articles besides that of Marriage, wherein there is need that the Pope should give ease against the

Ibid.

the severity of the Council; for example, in that which concerns plurality of Benefices, if the Pope should not still dispense therewith, the Cardinals would have nothing to live on, and the Court of Rome would turn Desert, *Senato Romano privo di quelle badie rimanerebbe privo del vitto*. One may see of what importance it is for keeping up the Church, to keep up the Splendor of the Court of Rome; yet the Council of Trent made no reckoning of it; so that what can one hope for from any other Council whatsoever?

In fine, The Council of Trent declared, That all the World was obliged to observe its Canons indistinctly, and that none should be dispensed with, but when there was urgent and just cause, *urgens justaque ratio*; and then the Dispensation should be given freely *gratis*, otherwise the same should be null: *Aliterque facta dispensatio subreptitia censeatur*, Sess. 25. c. 18. But now these Dispensations are not given *gratis* at the Court of Rome, where a great deal is given for them *sine causa*, without any reason, but that they pretend that the Money that is gotten thereby, contrary to the Council of Trent, is a just and pressing consideration for to grant them out, *Anzi essere in verità gran' cagione per dispensare quella grossa multa che l'impetrante si contenta di pagar in aiuto de' poveri e dell' opere pie*.

It is manifest then that even the Reformation of the Council of Trent would be Ide-

al, and of no success, *risformazione ideale e non riuscibile*, if it were not judiciously reformed by the Politick Prudence of the Roman Court; so that nothing is less useful than Councils, and less necessary for governing the Church.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Council of Trent it self hath acknowledged, That the way to govern the Church, is no longer that of Councils; and that the Laws which it made were submitted to a Superior Authority.

l. 23. c. 3.
& 8.

THE best one can say of the Council of Trent, is, That it had the Prudence to insert in its Decrees beginning and ending, That it meant in all things, that the Authority of the Apostolick See should remain inviolate, *salva in tutto l'autorità della Sede Apostolica*. Wherefore, quoth our Cardinal, I will not quite blame the Fathers of that Council for Decreeing against Plurality of Benefices, *ne per tutto ciò si vogliano biasimare i padri Tridentini*; for they had no intention by that Decree, to bind his Supremacies Hands, whom they had declared all along to be left at full liberty, *per ciò che il decreto non intese d'annodar quelle mani supreme che il Concilio si*
nel

l. 23. c. 11.

nel principio come nel fine delle sue leggi dichiarò di lasciar disciolte.

But as in all Policy Sacred or Profane, 'tis the approbation which the People give unto a Law by their usage thereof, that determines the force and the Merit of that Law, and when it is doubtful what success it may have, 'tis prudence to try first if the greatest number will be pleased therewith, *è prudenza il tentare e zandio con dubbio dell' evento ciò che se riuscisse sarebbe grato al commune*: It follows that there must be a Superior Authority to derogate from the Laws of a Council, or to dispense with them, according as usage may require therein, or thereabout; and this the *Council of Trent* hath very well acknowledged, in declaring it meant not in any sort to tie up the Popes hands; insomuch that through an effect of a singular Policy, though there should not be so much as one Decree of the *Council of Trent* observed; yet if that were so by the Pope's Order, it would be found, That nevertheless the Decrees of that Council were kept, because he would be obeyed to whom the Council hath left absolute power, which reaches as far as to impower him to derogate from the Council's Orders. After this fashion is it, that our Cardinal, maintaining, That the Church ought not to be governed by way of Councils, and that, That of *Trent* hath upheld the Pope in an Authority over its own, doth defend the Judgment of the whole

1.8.c.11.

Proem.

whole Christian World Assembled in that Council; and thus he defends the whole Catholick Church, and this is the Ground he hath to call his Book *Diffesa del Sacro Concilio di Trento.*

ARTICLE IX.

Refutation of the Zealot's Fifth Errour, That Episcopacy is but one and the same thing in all Bishops: This is a Seditious Opinion, and destroyes the Allness and Soleness of the Monarchy Ecclesiastick.

THE Difference about Episcopacy, is not concerning the Bishop's power of Order; for that's common to all Bishops, of Divine Right. There be a-many Catholick Authers, who hold, That the Character of the Bishop's Order differs not from that of Priests.

The Business is about their Power of Jurisdiction, in governing the Church; for the Zealous pretend, That all Bishops have received this Jurisdiction in governing the Church, immediately from Jesus Christ, and that it extends it self throughout the whole Church *in solidum*, and that herein Episcopat Juris-

Jurisdiction is of Divine Right, as well as the Popes Jurisdiction; 'tis one and the same Episcopacy in him, as it is in them; in him, as their Head; in them, as Head of their inferior Priests, by Divine Right.

If that were so, Seeing the Bishops did never exercise that Power of Jurisdiction over all the Universal Church, what power was that which Jesus Christ gave them, which never yet took any effect? This was the Argumenting of Father Lainez, *che valere una sorte de giurisdizione come quella ch' e in loro da Christo, per se medesima affatto impotente e ineficacabile.* l. 18. c. 15.

Supposing that the Bishops may exercise sometimes this same power *in solidum*, over the Universal Church, it follows then, That there is no Universal Prince of the Church; but that she hath as many Universal Princes as she hath Bishops, *e pero che non fosse un solo Principe di tutta la Chiesa, ma tanti Principi universali quanti vescovi*; so that every Bishop reckoning himself intrusted with the whole Church *in solidum*, will attempt as of Divine Right, to govern the Dioceses of all others, and if that might be, what would become of the Order and unity of the Church, 'Tis clear, That if this Opinion had place, and that Jurisdiction were such in all Bishops, there would not remain any thing more of the Monarchy and Unity of the Church, and she would be, as it were, without a Foundation, *onde in tal caso non rimanerebbe dove alloggiar solidamente* l. 6. c. 3. *Ibid.*

damente 'la Monarchia e l'unità della Chiesa; and by consequence, this Doctrine is quite and clean seditious, *questa sediziosa dottrina*. And here follow now the Reasons of the opposite Doctrine, which is nothing but Peace and Quietness.

Reason I.

If the Bishops have their Jurisdiction of Divine Right, it follows that the Pope can neither deprive them of it, nor restrain, nor enlarge it for them, *ch'el Papa non potesse loro restringerla, e così ne meno ampliarla*; for a Jurisdiction thus changeable cannot be of Divine Right, *perciò che quella ch'è tale non è variabile della volontà e della potestà umana*. Non la potesse ritorre o scemare senza cagione. Notwithstanding this, 'tis which the Pope does when he reserves Cases to himself concerning Persons, or Places, or Affairs, and grants Priviledges or Exemptions, or makes Decrees all without any ground; yet if all those Dispositions were null, what trouble would be in the Church, *sarebbe cosa di grande perturbazione si tali suoi ordini irragione-voli fosser' nulli*. Every Bishop pretending his Jurisdiction of Divine Right, and therefore unalterable, would pretend also a Right to overlook the Popes Ordinances, and so impugn them of Nullity, or abuse as often as he pleased, under pretence they were without cause, *gli si potesse muover sempre questione di nullità con allegare il difetto della sufficiente cagione*. What would become then of blind Obedience,

l. 18 c. 15.

l. 19 c. 6.

Ibid.

Ibid.

ence, which alone maintains the Unity of the Church? To withdraw this Obedience from the Popes' Commands, would teach Subjects to withdraw the Obedience they owe to the Princes of the Earth, *lo sciorre se stessi dall' ubidienza verso del Paapa ero uno sciorre insieme le coscienze de Vassalli dall' ubidienza verso di qualunque principe.* l. i. c. 8.

After this Rate, no Parish-Priest would obey his Bishop, when his Orders did not please him; and this would make the unbenefic'd Priests or Curates rise up against the Parish-Priests, *frà poco la medesima pretensione di governo poliarchico havrebbono i rettori privati co' loro vescovi, i preti semplici co' Rettori*; thereby the Church would become a very Babylon, *e finalmente si formarebbe con verità quella Babilonia.* l. i. c. 25.

Reason II.

Bishops are obliged to obey the Pope, though his Decrees should be unreasonable: So then their Jurisdiction is not of Divine Right, and that of the Pope alone is of Divine Right. If the Bishops power were of Divine Right, one should be obliged to obey them, as one does the Pope, though their Decrees were unreasonable, and contrary to the Pope's; now if that were so, Bishops would turn little Tyrants, having shook off their Obedience to the Pope, who is, as S. Charles Borromée calls him, Our Lord upon Earth, *Nostro Signore.* l. 21. c. 5.

Take away from the Pope Right to make himself

himself be obeyed, though his Orders should be unreasonable, whilst his Power is of Divine Right, and grant that power to Bishops, as having their Jurisdiction of Divine Right, every Bishop will be Sovereign in his Diocess, *ciascun vescovo sarà sovrano nella propria Diocesi*. The Bishops will pretend they have put down one Tyranny in the Church, viz. the Pope's; *diranno d'haver estinta una tirannia*, but instead of one pretended Tyranny, there will come up by that Disorder an innumerable crew of small Tyrants, *e n'haveremo generate innumerabili*; every one of them as a small Pope, will be obeyed with blind obedience, though he commands evil like the Pope, *a guisa di Papi*. They will have it, that their People shall believe all that they tell them, as if 'twere Gospel, as if they were infallible Popes, not able to err, *a guisa di Papi credendo ogni popolo ciò che il suo vescovo per altro soggetto ad errare gli proponesse comme senso della scrittura*; And from thence what would follow, but that what one teaches in his Diocess, the other will condemn as Heresie in his? Which would bring forth among believing Catholicks a most fearful contrariety of Laws, of Ceremonies; of Usages, and in fine, of Faith too, *qual contrarietà forgerebbe di leggi, di riei, e fin' di fede tra i fedeli*.

The Source of all these Disorders comes from Bishops pretending that their Jurisdiction is of Divine Right.

Reason

Reason III.

The Bishops proposing in the Council of Trent, That it should be determined that their Jurisdiction was of Divine Right, and the Question being discussed on both sides, it appeared to some, That all the Dispute was nothing but a pure *Logomachia*, and disputing about Terms; but the more subtil, *i più sottili*, and scrupulous, *i più scrupolosi*, judged quite otherwise thereof, and made it manifest, That if the Bishops Pretensions took place, it would follow that the Pope could not without cause dispose of things belonging to the Jurisdictions of Bishops, *senz'alcuna ragione*; for example, *l. 19. c. 6.* he could not of absolute authority reserve to himself the Collation of a Benefice in another Bishop's Diocese, he could not send Prohibitions to the Ordinary, or exempt an Inferior from the Jurisdiction of his Bishop, or even translate a Bishop from one Diocese to another, unless for Reasons contained in the Canons, *ò trasferir un vescovo da una cattedrale all' altra.* These Reasons hindered the Question from being decided, *questi riguardi facevano che molti ne consentissero à dichiarare ch' i vescovi fossero immediate da Christo:* Which makes it evident how important it is in the Church, when one would think there is no more but a Question about Terms or Words, to take good heed if the Question be not about

bout something indeed, and not to think that Questions which appear to be only about Terms, be of such slight Importance, especially in Matter of Church-government.

Reason IV.

There is a deal of difference between the largeness of the Pope's Power, and the Power of Bishops: The Pope, who is chosen, is ordinarily pious and sage, *ordinariamente suole eleggersi pio e savio*; he has remorse of Conscience, *hai rimorsi della coscienza*; he has Sentiments of honour, *e dell' honore*; which being so, 'tis a less evil, as it may sometimes happen, though some of his commands be unreasonable; which is seldom, and his Subjects be obliged to obey them, *possa tal' ora obligare i soggetti ex andio con qualche irragionevole ordinazione*, than that he not being Prince and Monarch, as he is of all Bishops, who are his Subjects, should be made subject to their over-looking, and to their passionate Votes and Judgments, to which they are so subject.

Reason V.

But the great Reason which decides the Question beyond Reply, and makes the Juggle of the contrary Opinion appear, is, That in effect, if the Bishop's Jurisdiction were of Divine Right, they are obliged not to obey the Pope, when his Decrees are not grounded upon just cause: they could not use the Dispensations which he

he gives them, when they are not granted after the manner prescribed by the Canons; for the Canons do forbid plurality of Benefices; it confounds, quoth the *Council of Trent*, the Church-Order; that one person alone should take upon him the Offices of many persons. All are obliged to observe the Sacred Canons without any distinction, *indistincte*; unless they be dispensed therewith for just and urgent cause, and which may redound to the Churches greater profit; and that the Dispensation be granted cost-free; in default whereof, 'tis to be reckoned surreptitious. Now almost all the Bishops have plurality of Benefices, and they have the Pope's Dispensation for it, which is not grounded upon any urgent or just cause, nor given to them cost-free; they make use of these Dispensations; they be conformable to these Decrees; the Pope then has a right to rule over them, even without reason; and since they obey him; they acknowledge that their Jurisdiction is not of Divine Right; otherwise they could not in conscience possess a many Benefices, they could not in conscience be translated from one Bishoprick to another; the Dispensation that is granted them, is by right null according to the Canons, *in maniera qualora volesse trasferir un vescovo da una Cattedrale all' altra, gli potesse muovere sempre questione di nullità con allegare il difetto della sufficiente cagione.* But if it be so, that the Pope has no power to dispense

*Sess. 25.
c. 19.*

l. 19. c. 6.

G

spense

l. 23. c. 8.

Ibid.

Expense without a cause, where be the Bishops? for either they have Consciences, or they have none; if they have none, and that being transported with passion for a Benefice or Bishoprick more fat or honourable, they will needs be translated thereunto, *accade che la violenza della passione accenda talmente gli affetti che ove non si dispensasse cadderebbono in grave peccato*; and that they will frame false and coloured causes to obtain their Dispensations, which is rather to get by stealth, than to obtain; such Dispensations granted upon false considerations, are null, *rubando per questo mezzo le concessioni mille*, and so they will continue even unto their Death, in a sort of sacrilegious, incestuous Marriage with their Churches, *continuando poscia in matrimoni sacrileghi, fin' alla morte*, unless they had rather keep all their life-time in one condition against their minds, and lead a miserable kind of life, *con repugnanza di cuore & con infelicità di vita*. If they have any Conscience, then if that Conscience be in the least tender, it will never let them be quiet while they reflect upon those just and reasonable causes allowed only by the Canons, *non quietarsi interiormente mai*; thereupon a thousand scruples, either concerning Substance or Circumstances, will be still returning upon them, *ripullulando loro sempre n'el cuore varii scrupoli intorno alla verità o nella sostanza o nelle circostanze della ragione esposta*, which will keep them
in

in perpetual torture, without any Remedy, *ilche gli fa stare in un perpetuo tormento senza rimedio*, and will make them in danger to commit many sins through an erroneous Conscience, *e con pericolo che per coscienza erronea commettano molti peccati*, that in fine they will fall into despair of their salvation, *e cadano in disperazione della salute*. l. 23. c. 8.

Now to avoid such terrible and dangerous extremities which might put all the Bishops into a damnable condition, a man sees there's nothing safer than the Doctrine that maintains against the Zealous Ignorant, That Bishop's Jurisdiction is not of Divine Right.

ARTICLE X.

From these Reasons it results, That these Bishop's Jurisdiction comes to them only from the Pope. The Opinion that Episcopacy is but one and the same thing in all Bishops, is nothing but a Platonick Idea.

FROM all before alledged, 'tis easie to conclude, That there's an infinite difference between Episcopacy in the Pope, and Episcopacy in Bishops; because the Bishops not holding their Jurisdiction but of

- the Pope, he shares out to them no more thereof than he pleases, they being the Inferior Order, *di cui egli fa parte à minori Prelati*, as Father Diego Lainez said; but it is wholly in him as the Source, because he is the Sovereign Vicar of Jesus Christ, *tutta come in suo fonte nel summo Vicario di Christo per cui descendesse negl' inferiori Prelati*; in effect, their Rank and their State is a State inferior, *minore stato, Prelati minori, vescovi minori*, quoth S. Charles, they be small Bishops, and small Prelates; for which reason, the name of Vicar of Jesus Christ hath not continued to them, *non essersi lasciato il nome di Vicario di Christo à vescovi minori*; they are nothing but a great multitude of petty Bishops, *una moltitudine immensa di piccioli vescovi*; Now for a small Bishop, small Power, and small Business. Wherefore the Pope hath reserved to himself all the great Affairs of consequence, leaving to the Bishops only the small ones, as, to grant Licenses for ordinary Marriages, to issue out some sorts of Monitories, to visit Nunneries, or the like; or many times, to avoid contest, he permits them to act as Delegates of the Holy See: For the Pope being distracted with the great affairs of the whole Universe, he cannot tend to muse on trifling petty matters, *quella giurisdizione à particolari Prelati, la qual è profitevole che sia in loro per non costringer i Christiani d'andare à Roma in ogni mediocre affare, e perche alcuni negozii meglio son terminati*

minati da chi gli vede con occhio occupato in que pochi soli, che da chi gli ode con orecchio distratto ad una immensità d'altre cure.

The Bishops have not the power to dispense with plurality of Benefices, because it was not fit to trust their discretion with so important a part of the Government of their Dioceses, as that was, *at cuius iudicio* l. 23. c. 11 *non era convenevole il permetter.*

And as for the chusing of Parish-Priests, the Council hath not given the Bishops liberty to do that, for it obliges them to follow the judgment of certain Examiners appointed thereunto, *sono obligati à seguir le sentence degli esaminatori;* and the Council enacts, That those Examiners be approved by the Clergy of the Diocese at a Synod, *qui Synodus satisfaciant & ab ea approbentur, Sess. 24. c. 18.* Which makes it appear, that even those small affairs which the Bishops have left them, were by the Councils Order, not to be done but in a Synod, and with the Synod's advice.

So that no man which hath not a mind to feed himself with Fancies, will ever approve that opinion of an entire Episcopacy, being one and the same in all Bishops, but will look upon it as a *Chimera* impossible in practice, *ogni huomo capace d'affari civili avviserà per impossibile in pratica questa, per così dire, ideal Republica di Platone, dove tutta la giurisdizione fosse di ciascun presidente.* l. 6. c. 3.

Aristotle hath confuted this imaginary Government by Reasons very evident, e pure *ibid.*

1.9. c.9.

1.6. c.3.

Ibid.

1.1. c.15.

*una tal Republica con evidentissime ragioni vi-
 en rifutata da Aristotele.* Now that which is
 contrary to most evident Reasons of Ari-
 stotle, cannot be conformable to the Institu-
 tion of Jesus Christ, *come si la chiesa di
 Christo predicasse ch' è contrario à l'insegna-
 menti d' Aristotele,* 'Tis a very Chimera,
una chimera impossibile; a false and fraudulent
 invention, *una invenzione bugiarda;* a Chaos
 of confusion, *un caos di confussioni;* a right
 Babylon, *con verità Babylonia.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The only Rule of the Politick Church Government, is, its Felicity according to the Flesh, in this World, and in the other, under the Authority of one sole Monarch of the Universe, who is the Pope, of whom all his Christian Kings are Tributaries and Subjects, and who hath, or ought to have for his Inheritance or Demean the Riches of all the World, whose Honours and carnal Pleasures make the Churches Splendor and Felicity. Jesus Christ hath merited them for her by the effusion of his Blood, to render her Visible, Perpetual, and Remarkable, as the most happy according to the Flesh, of all other Republicks, that are, that shall be, or that ever were upon Earth.

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ARTICLE I.

Jesus Christ hath instituted in his Church the most excellent kind of Government. Monarchical Government is the most excellent.

A Man should not doubt that the Wisdom Incarnate did not institute in his Church the most excellent kind of Government, *dovremo noi persuadere che la sapienza incarnata istituìsse la sua Chiesa con un governo il qual non fosse migliore.*

Now Monarchical Government is the best of all even among Christians, *essendo l'ottima forma del governo spirituale fra' Christiani, la monarchia.*

So that it must needs be that the Pope was instituted by Jesus Christ King of the Church, and Monarch of the whole World, *adunque la necessità del governo monarchico si palesa per esperienza.*

Therefore it is that the Popes do reign at Rome, *regnare in Roma*, and their Kingdom is call'd the Kingdom of the Vatican, *regno di Vaticano*; and the Pope is called God's Viceroy; and our Cardinal-Historian calls Pope Alexander VII, *Vicerè d'israordinario valore.*

He hath the Seignory of all the world, *il l. 6. c. 4. dominio de l'intero mondo Christiano.*

He is the Monarch and Lord thereof, *Monarca e Segnor del mondo. l. 6. c. 3.*

Infomuch that the whole World is the Empire whereof he is the Emperor, whose puissance is upheld by the veneration of Emperors and all other Kings, who be his Subjects, *quella venerazione ch'è la base del loro Imperio. Intr. c. 16.*

ARTICLE II.

That Emperors and Kings have acknowledged the Pope.

TIs this Sovereign Puissance Ecclesiastick of Popes, superior to the Secular, that the Kings and Emperors of the Earth have acknowledged by kneeling down before them, *l'Ecclesiastica è suprema in autorità perche ad essa i Principi secolari s'ingenuocchiano. l. 12. c. 3.*

Monarchs do not only kneel before the Pope, but they kiss his Feet, in token they acknowledge his Sovereign Authority as Vicar of Jesus Christ, *inducendo tutti Principi à riconoscerli come vicarii di Christo, baciando i loro piedi. Ibid.*

They acknowledge him as the chief Magistrate over all men, *Magistrato supremo u. l. 7. c. 14. mano.*

They

- They adore him as most holy in that quality, and too as Mediator between Heaven and Earth, *chi dev'essere adorato con soprannome di santissimo, e mezz'auo frà il cielo e la terra*, and as Mediator between themselves, and Arbitrator of their Differences, to hinder the Insolencies of some of them, and the plottings of others, otherwise States would never endure his meddling in their Matters, *il principato non è durabile con l'insolenza, rimosso l'ostacolo dell'autorità spirituale, e perciò molto minor numero di congiure e di ribellioni.*

- Therefore Kings and People adore the Pope's hands, *adorato sua mano*; they adore his Crown, *corona Pontificale*; and his Diadem, *si tratta di mantener l'adorato diademe nel fronte al mio principe.*

- In fine, they regard him as their Lord, *nostro Signore.*

ARTICLE III.

The Popes Monarchy over the World is necessary for the Church.

THe Church is a Body, composed of all the Catholick Kingdoms and Republicks of the World, which be the Members thereof: And in every State or Republick, all the Dioceses with their Bishops, are also Members of that Body. And

And as in compounded natural Bodies, there be many particular Forms, because every Member hath its own Form; so every Diocese, and every Kingdom, and Republick hath its particular Form, that is to say, its Bishop, its King, or its Superior and Head, in whom resides the particular superior power. But as in the compounded Natural Body, 'tis impossible that diverse Forms, which have no order nor relation among themselves, can be able to govern, because they would separate Unity. So it is impossible that Church-Unity can subsist, unless all the particular Forms of her Members have relative Order among themselves, and be subject to a Form Total and Superior, to be as it were the Head and Soul of them, from whence the Particulars may fetch all their direction and force, *non possono essere molte forme in una loro non ordinate dominare in un composto.* l. 8. c. 17.

If the Church had not such a Soul, viz. a Sovereign Power that gave her Form, and whereby she might be directed, she would not any longer deserve the name of Church, *non meriterebbe più la Chiesa nome di Chiesa, cioè di congregazione, mentre fosse disgregata per tante membra senza haver l'unità da un'anima che le informasse e le reggesse,* l. 1. c. 25.

It would be but a Crowd of men without Order, not a Body Organick and Formed, unless it received the Unity of a Form total, proper to animate it and rule it, *micro aggregato accidentale s'ella non riceve l'unità* Ibid.

l'unità con una forma che la indirizzi e la governi.

Now then, supposing that the Pope is the Head and Soul of that Body that stretcheth it self through the World, whereof all States and Dioceses of the Universe are Members, the union and submission of these Members to this their Head, who is the Soul of them, forms the perfect band of the Life Politick, *una congiunzione di vita perfettamente politica.*

l. 3. c. 10.

The Pope's Authority is the Basis, the Band, and the moving Intelligence of this Body's Government, *del qual governo, la base, il legame, e l'intelligenza motrice, e l'autorità del Pontifice.*

l. 1. c. 25.

So that what ought not a man to suffer rather than let himself be separated from this good Soul, from which one draws all his Being, his Unity, his Direction, his Motion and Intelligence, *per non separarsi da quest'anima;* for what can the hands and feet in man's Body do, if they do not receive all their direction and force from one sole Head? *che potrebbero le mani ed i piedi se non ricevessero tutta la direzione e tutta la forza d'un solo capo?*

l. 3. c. 10.

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ARTICLE IV.

The Power of the Pope is Independent from every Creature, and without Limits: The Riches of the world are his Revenue.

THE Popes Sovereignty being then so vast, it extends through all Countries, as the Soul does through all parts of the Body, *un principato vasto e di varie nazioni*; l. 23. c. 111 and like as the Soul in the most raised operations of her Intelligence depends not of her Members, so the Pope's power is independent from every Creature, and unlimited, *autorità illimitata ed indipendente*. 'Tis l. 8. c. 17. a power more than humane, and which, as such, ought to be adored, *con debito d'adorarla, che impone la sopra umana sua dignità*, l. 24. c. ult. 'tis as it were, a divine state, *stato quasi divino*. l. 1. c. 2.

And as the Members obey the Soul, without asking it a Reason; so every one is bound to obey the Pope, even when his Orders be unreasonable. Indeed he doth sin, when he ordains any thing against Reason; but he that obeys him, doth not sin, *onde peccaben in concederle, non i famigli inferiori in usarle*. l. 21. c. 60.

In this Quality of King and absolute Sovereign, he has for Revenue and Inheritance,
the

I. I. c. I.

I. 6. c. 3.

the Goods of all his Subjects, to wit, of all the Kings of the World, and of all their Subjects, *havendo per lor patrimonio le sustanze de' sudditi*; he hath power to dispose thereof even against their will, *con autorità a di comandare alle persone e di maneggiar le robbe per raggion propria, ed eziancho con altrui repugnanza.*

I. I. c. 25.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

And by consequence; Kings and their Kingdoms be Tributaries to him, and that with Reason; for every Parish finds its Parson, and furnishes him with all that's necessary for his Ministry, *ogni terra gli somministra a suo piovano.*

Every Diocess does likewise so in respect of its Bishop proportionably, and as 'tis meet for the Rank that he holds in the Church above Parish-Priests, *ogni Diocese al suo vescovo.*

Every State does the same proportionably towards its Prince, *ogni stato al suo Principe.*

Thus 'tis manifest, That all the Prelates and Kings of the World do owe to their Monarch the same Contributions proportionably, *moltri stati e regni insieme al loro Monarca.*

As the Pope is Monarch of the whole World, it is clear, That his Revenues be laid and set out for him upon the whole World, *questi ritratti si cavan da tutti i regni del Christianesimo.*

ART I.

ARTICLE V.

The Pope may compel Kingdoms to pay him Tribute: To dispute this Power with him, is Treason.

THAT which is considerable herein, is, That as the Soul hath power to oblige the Body to render it the service it ought, because all the service which the Body owes to the Soul, has no other End but the common Good of the one and the other. So the Pope, who is Soul of the Universal Body of the Church, having no End but the common Good of the Church, hath power to constrain all the Communities which make Parts of his Body, to pay him the Tributes due to him, futable to the Grandeur of his Administration, *quali l'1. c. 25. richiedonfi alla grandezza di sua amministrazione.* 'Tis for their own Good that he may oblige them to it; for one must do good to Communities, as one does to Children, even against their wills, *qual più l'17. c. 10. tritto proverbio che quello, à fanciulli e à comuni convien fare il bene contra lor voglia.*

He that hath power to bring to the End, hath power to levy the means; as for example, the Church hath power to constrain people to receive the Sacraments, 'tis necessary

cessary then that she should have power to compel those things which be necessary to that end, *se la chiesa può costringere i fedeli à pigliar i Sacramenti, li può costringere à tutto il necessario per l'amministrazione di essi.*

Now the prime thing that is necessary for the Administration of the Sacraments, is a competent maintenance for the Ministers, *com' è in primo luogo la sostentazione de' Ministri.* So the Pope being prime Minister of the Sacraments, and of the Government Ecclesiastick, there's nothing more plain than the power he has to constrain the whole Catholick Christian World to pay him Tribute; this Demonstration is most clear, *questa chiarissima dimostrazione.*

This supposed, who is it that can deny it to be Treason, to say, one ought not to pay to a Prince the Tributes which be due to him, *si come verrebbe accusato di lesa Maestà chi affermasse dover si levare à Principi secolari i loro tributi.*

In greater Reason, then it must be a greater crime for him that would take away from the Prince of the Church and Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Fruits that are due to him from particular Churches, according to Reason, Equity and Custom, *così di molti più grave delitto è reo chi vuol torre al principe della chiesa e Vicario di Christo li frutti che à lui son' debiti dalle chiese particolari secondo la ragione, l'equità, e la consuetudine.* For the Revenues, for example, which

which come of Indulgences, and other like Graces, are as his Gables, *il medesimo in tutte le Gabelle*, Imposts being necessary in all sorts of Government, *in ogni principato essendo necessarie le imposizioni.* 1.9. c.3. 1.16. c.8.

ARTICLE VI.

The Pope's Authority is conformable to Nature; according to Aristotle, the Pope ought not to give reason for the using of his Power; it hath no other Limit, nor other Reason, but, Such is our Pleasure.

V**V**E have seen how the Union and Submission of the whole Body of the Church to its Head and its Soul, which is, forsooth, the Pope, makes the perfect Band of the Life Politick, and that the end of this Life is the common Good of the whole Compound, to which it is natural, according to *Aristotle*, that all the Members do contribute This Philosopher hath made no difficulty to say, That, as a Hand which doth not serve the Interest of the Body, from whose good estate the good even of every particular Member derives it self, could not be called a Hand, unless in an equivocal sence; so the man which serves not the common Good of the whole Body of the Commonwealth, but

H bath

1.3.c.10.

hath his particular Interests for his Ends, cannot be called a man, unless in an equivocal sense, *la qual congiunzione è sì naturale che Aristotele hebbe à dire, che si come la mano che non serve à l'intero corpo dal cui buono stato ridonda il bene di ciascuno membro, diceasi equivocamente mano, così l'huomo che habbia per fine il privato suo pro e non il commune dal quale deriva ogni ben privato, chiamarsi equivocamente huomo.* Now he that is but a man in an equivocal sense, cannot be a faithful Christian Prince nor King, but in an equivocal sense, and no other; this is the essential Reason that all Princes and People have to be the Pope's Subjects, if they will remain true Princes, or true Christians; he is not obliged to give you the reason for his power, having power in quality of Sovereign, to dispose, according to his liking, of persons and of Goods, as he thinks fit, *con autorità di comandare alle persone e di maneggiare le robe per raggion propria ed eziandio con altrui repugnanza.*

1.6.c.3.

1.19.c.6.

Ibid.

If it were otherwise, a man might upon every occasion, contest all his Orders and Commands as null, under pretence that they were not reasonable, *gli si potesse muover sempre questione di nullità con allegare difetto della sufficiente ragione;* and of Prince, as the Pope is, he would be made subject to his Subjects Orders, *che sarebbe costituirlo di principe ch'egli è, soggetto al giudicio de' suoi soggetti.*

For avoiding then all these kinds of contradictions,

traditions, he may order it, and every one is obliged to pay him all that he demands, *senz'a esprimer veruna ragione*; there's no need for him to alledge any other cause, unless *Such is Our Pleasure*. 'Tis Pleasure that is the Rule of all Natural Equity, and all that is done against this good Pleasure, is but Violence, *violento facendosi contra il gusto del Papa*; In fine, the Pope himself is his own Law, *il Pontefice esser legge à se stesso*; for example, suppose that the Pope had no other reason for granting his Pardons, but the Money he gains thereby, and the Income which rises thereof, this only Reason is sufficient to justify all his Orders, *essere in verità gran ragione quella grossa multa*. l. 23. c. 8. l. 3. c. 13. l. 20. c. 5.]

Nevertheless, this is said with respect to his boundless power, and in it self independent, *illimitata ed indipendente*, taking it abstracted from honest *Decorum*, and other Circumstances which do moderate the Pope in the usage of his Power; and causes that one needs not to fear he will commit any abuses in the execution thereof; for setting these aside, he may do all through the plenitude of his Power, *è libero con la pienezza dell' autorità*; but honest *decorum* hinders him from doing sometimes things he could and might, *l'onestà richiede che non facesse di se medesimo*. These were the Sentiments of Pope Pius IV. writing to the Emperor Ferdinand, in which he was contrary to Pope Paul IV. Caraffa, who was perswaded that

his Wisdom had no other Rules for acting, but those (forsooth) of his infinite power, *che tutta l'ampiezza del suo potere fosse anche la misura di saggiamente esercitarlo.*

ARTICLE VII.

'Tis not to be feared that the Pope will abuse his Power, and that for divers Reasons.

THere is no fear the Pope will abuse his All-puissancy.

1. He is Elested by a Senate of Cardinals, *da un Senato di Cardinali*, whose lives, for the most part, are very exemplary, *tanta esemplarità in molti del Senato Apostolico.*

2. They Elect him ordinarily from among themselves, *fra un senato di Cardinali.* They chuse him when he is old and a tried one, *buomo vecchio provato*; the most pious, and the wisest, which they think fit for the place, *pio e savio.*

3. The Pope hath Sentiments of humane Honour, *per senso d'onore umano.*

4. He hath Remorse of Conscience, *i rimorsi della coscienza.*

5. Being good, judicious and experienc'd, 'tis morally impossible that he should not govern the Church, either right well, or at least in tolerable manner, he is aided by
able

able Ministers, and with Motives of Honour and Policy, *si può sperar che si elegga* l. 1. c. 25.
quasi sempre tale che per giudizio, per bontà, per esperienza, e quando tutte mancasse per aiuto di Ministri e per senso d'onore umano governi ò bene ò tolerabilmente la chiesa.

6. 'Tis his Policy to do so; for his Empire not being able to stand without the peoples Veneration and Devotion, 'tis of utmost consequence to him to do nothing that may cause him to lose that Devotion which maintains his Power; *ed in riguardo* Int. f. 6.
eziandio d'interesse umano il dimostra sarebbe un tal modo troppo dannoso à quella venerazione ch'è la base, del loro imperio. . . questa l. 23. c. 5.
podestà la quale non hà altri littori che la divozione de' sudditi.

ARTICLE VIII.

Difference betwixt the Pope's Policy and the Turk's. Kings need not to fear the Pope's Power, but in case of Rebellion against God, or his Viceroy upon Earth.

THe Grand Seignor's ultimate End is his own Felicity, and his means to arrive at it, is, to make his People miserable, *qual* l. 5. c. 6.
è la Politica del dominio Turchesco; but the Pope's end is the Publick Felicity of the Church, which is his Body, and whereof
he

he is the Soul, the Head, and the common Father. The *Grand Seigneur* is free, and all his Subjects are Slaves, *e teene loro in miseria per ch'egli goda*; which is an execrable Policy; as Slaves, he commands them with Sword in hand, being obeyed out of dread. The Ecclesiastick Power of the Pope, is a Power unarmed, *la podestà goduta dal summo Pontefice pure è disarmata*.

Whence it is, though of right, the Pope has power to compell Peoples Obedience to his Authority, yet having no force joyned to his Supreme Authority, all its Power, as to its execution, depends on the inclination of the People, on their Veneration and their Piety; therefore it is that the Pope, for to succeed in his Designs, ought to accommodate himself to the Peoples inclinations, though corrupt, *dovendo egli governare gli huomini quali Iddio e la natura producono al mondo*. The Great Turk never informs himself concerning the inclinations of his People, he does all by force, by Authority, and through a Spirit of Domination; so that there's nothing more execrable than the Turk's Policy; nothing more mild & more natural than the Pope's; there's no Republick in the World more happy, even according to the Flesh, than that which lives under his Empire; *un corpo politico il più felice che sia in terra*.

The Kings and Princes of the World have nothing to fear from the Pope's Power, except in case of a declared Rebellion against

against God, *tal che non può temere ne de forze l. 12. c. 3.*
ne dalle volontà di sì fatti huomini se non in
caso d'un aperta sua ribellione contra Dio, that
they attack God through Heresie, or else
his prime Minister and Viceroy General
upon Earth, to suppress his power; in these
Cases, the Secular Powers indeed have
great reason to be apprehensive of the Ec-
clesiastick; for that their People through
veneration for the *Pope*, and through Senti-
ments of Religion, would rise in Rebellion,
if not always, at least often enough against
such their Princes, being once declared E-
nemies by the *Pope*; *la secolare hà gran rag-*
gion di temerla, perche se non sempre, almeno ibid.
spesso la venerazione de' popoli e'l rispetto della
Religione muove i sudditi à sollevarsi contra'l
principe temporale quando egli vuol' supprimere
la podestà spirituale. Or else when Kings
do publickly violate Justice, as *Henry VIII,*
King of *England.* By example of that King,
all others may observe how fast the *Pope*
holds, that when a humor takes Christian
Princes to violate Justice and Religion,
without being by any means to be brought
back to their Duty, they are alwayes to ap-
prehend the Arms of the *Vatican*, *Si è l. 3. c. 15.*
mantenuto il possesso, che tutti i principi Chri-
stiani qualunque volta disegnano di violare in-
corrigibilmente la giustizia e la Religione, te-
mano l'armi del Vatican. *L'e sempio di lui* *ibid.*
non può dar ardimento à potentati Catholici d'es-
ser' impii senza terrore; After this Exa-
mple, there is no Catholick Prince, who

ought not to tremble, when he dares but think of becoming impious.

ARTICLE IX.

Of the Peoples Sovereign Power in the Church.

THe Cardinal assures us at last, That it is the People have the Sovereign power in the Church, if not of right and in reason, yet at least, in fact and by force,
l. 1. c. 9. il quale volgo finalmente ha la suprema potenza, e però se non di ragione almeno di fatto è il supremo de' tribunali; the people, quoth he, is more powerful than all the
l. 2. c. 4. Laws, essendo il popolo più potente d'ogni legge; So there needs the utmost skill to hold them in, and without the succors of great respect, and of some Love, 'tis hard to make them to like the yoke of Obedience,
ibid. e però richiedonsi gran' destrezza nel frenarlo e grand' aiuto di venerazione e d'amore per ch'egli si contenti di ricevere in bocca il freno.

'Tis by the greatest number that at last things are decided, and at bottom; this
l. 1. c. 24. is the greatest Potentate of the world, imperciò che la moltitudine finalmente è il maggior potentato del mondo; for the Multitude have more hands than the small number of their Superiors; and when all those hands unite,

unite, they make a power that renders its self Mistress of the World, *perche hanno più mani, le quali quando s'accordano, sono le padrone del mondo.* 1.9.c.9.

The Ecclesiastical Superiors ought above all, to be perswaded of this Politick Maxim, That all their power, as to its effect and execution, is upheld by the Peoples Veneration, *questo saperfi da Presidenti Ecclesiastici, che il loro potere quanto all' effetto è tutto appoggiato alla venerazione de' popoli,* 1.12.c.3. which is a warning to them to keep up this Veneration by an exemplary Life, abstaining from all which hath the looks of excess, *gli ammonisce à conservarsela con la vita esemplare e ad astenersi da ciò che habbia dell' immoderato o del violento.* Ibid.

ARTICLE X.

An Example of the Peoples Power in the Church in what passed at Milan, and at the Council of Pisa, under Louis XII.

THE SOVERAIGN Authority of the People, which renders it self Arbitrator even between Popes and Kings, appeared in the People of *Pisa*, and those of *Milan*, under Pope *Julius II*, and the King of *France*, *Louis XII*. Some Cardinals having a mind, out of Ambition, to be Popes, under pretence

tence of reforming the Church, as well in Head as Members, met in Council at *Pisa*. The Inhabitants of that Town being Subjects of the Commonwealth of *Florence*, were constrained, through its Authority, to receive into their Town these Cardinals, and those of their Party; but nevertheless, they detested the Assembly of them as Sacrilegious, *come sacrilega*, they could not hold from giving them all possible marks of Slight and Abhorrency, so that the Council was transferred to *Milan*. The Cardinals of the Faction were received by the People in that Town, not as Cardinals, whose Dignity is in most great veneration in Christendom, but as men infected with the Plague, and as Cut-Throats, *mi come huomini pestiferi e scelerati*, and as boding Comets, which foretel and cause Mischiefs to the Countries over which they appear.

The *French* at that time got the Famous Victory at *Ravenna* against Pope *Julius* and his Confederates: The Popes Nuntio, *John de Medicis*, which afterwards succeeded *Julius*, by the Name of *Leo X*, was brought Prisoner to *Milan*. In this condition, a wonderful thing! even the Souldiers of the *French* side could not chuse but yield to their Prisoner, as the Legate of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, Marks of their utmost Veneration, asking Absolution of him for having fought against the Church; such power hath the force of Religion over the Spirits
of

of Christian people; *tanta nel popolo Cristiano l. I. c. I.*
ano è la forza della Religione.

Mean time, what kind of man was this Pope *Julius*? He was fierce-natur'd, *unat* *Ibid.*
ferocia, in whom the Vapors of adust Choler reigned so violently, that they carried him out to Feats of War, little agreeing with the Holiness of his Degree, *ecceffo mi- Ibid.*
litare non convenevole alla santità di grado,
da qualche vampa men regolata di bile accesa.

He had to do with *Louis XII*, that good King, surnamed *The Father of the People*; which is to say, All; yet the Subjects of such a King favoured such a Pope; what would they have done then if this Popes Virtue had been as sublime as was requisite for him who ought to be adored by the Sirname of most Holy, as Mediator between Heaven and Earth.

This only Example makes it at once to be seen how puissant a Pope is that's revered by the People, and how puissant the People is that is animated by a Spirit of Religion, *tanta nel popolo Cristiano è la forza delle religioni.*

But on the other side, this Example ought to teach Popes what they are to fear, when they abuse their supernatural and divine Authority, and do injury to the Secular Power; for then the People changing their Veneration into Abomination, they abandon his Holiness's Interest, and instead of remaining Superior, he becomes slighted.

See

See here then the different Interests of Popes and Kings, and the politick Reasons, that these Powers which are superior of Right, and by Authority, have to conserve to themselves the succors of that of the People, which is always at last the Sovereign by way of Fact, and as to the execution, and that same which obliges all these Powers to abide within terms of moderation, the just temperament whereof makes the Politick Felicity according to the Flesh, even in respect of the Christian Republick, under the Monarchy of the Sovereign Pontife; for to preserve which, all the world by consequence is equally obliged through very Natural Love, seeing that doth embrace the whole World for its Felicity.

ARTICLE XI.

The Pope is not Master of his Authority, he is but the Depositary thereof, and obliged to preserve it: The most pious action of Christian people is to uphold it.

THE Popes do not reckon themselves Masters of the Apostolical power, which is intrusted them; they do not believe that they can release the Rights thereof, of which they are nothing but De-

Depositaries, to hold them and keep them up together, and not to permit the diminution of them; Thus spoke Pope Clement VII, of it, *Primato Apostolico di cui non era signore mà custode*, The Pope may dispose on good consideration of the Things and Persons whereof he is Lord, though, may be, he cannot do it lawfully, setting aside Honesty or other Virtues; but for what concerns the Rights of the Holy See, he cannot permit the diminution thereof, neither lawfully, nor upon any consideration whatsoever, which is so true, that Paul IV, who thought he might do any thing, and that all which he did by virtue of his Authority, without having respect to Honesty or other Virtues, became honest and lawful, *che tutta l'ampiezza del suo potero fosse anche la misura di saggiamente esercitarlo*: Nevertheless, as to the Rights of the Holy See, he made no difficulty to acknowledge that he was not absolute Master of them, but only Depositary, *di quella dignità della quale non era padrone mà custode*.

And the reason is, That the Pope's power in all the extent of it, which we have been speaking of, is the Publick Good and Felicity of the Church, even according to the Flesh, *secondo la carne*; now the Publick Good of the Church, even according to the Flesh, is the greatest of all visible Goods, and the most noble Object of all the Virtues; and so the most noble action, not only of Policy, but of Piety that the Pope

1.5. c. 16.

Pope and Christian people can do, is to uphold the Sovereign power of the Pope, in the extent of his All-puissantness independent and infinite, and to maintain it with vigilance and stoutness; *il custodir con integrità e con vigilanza la sovranità del Pontificato, è per mio avviso la più commendabile operazione che possa fare la Politica virtuosa, perciò che di nessun' popolo si procura con maggior lodevolezza il più universale che del popolo più diletto da dio e fedele a dio.*

It remains then to make it evident what it is that is suitable for the Grandeur of the Pope, according to that Degree of Sovereignty which he is advanced to in the Church in quality of Vicar of Jesus Christ, Viceroy of God, Emperour of the whole Universe, Lord and Monarch of the World, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, Vice-God, and a God himself, by the most excellent participation of God that is visible upon Earth.

ART

ARTICLE XII.

The Pope must have Means and an Estate suting with all these Qualities. To deny this Truth, is a Treasonable Crime. Humane Felicity according to the Flesh, ought to be found in him as its Source.

THE Pope being King of Kings, and of the whole Universe, the Estates and Goods of all Kings, and of the whole Universe are his Inheritance; otherwise if the Temporalities of Kings were not the Pope's Inheritance, the Subjects Estates would not be the Inheritance of their Kings. 'Tis the part of Kings to consider, if they will renounce this new Right which the Religious and Carnal Policy of our Cardinal-Historian doth offer them; but as for the Pope, he is not Master of his, he is but Depositary; wherefore in quality of King, and for that very reason, it is unlawful, quoth the Cardinal, to abate the Pope his Rights, or any of that which is fit or sutable to the support and maintenance of his infinite and unlimited Grandeur, *non* 1.23.c.3. *essendo lecito di sottrarre i suoi diretti e ciò che richiedesi per la sua convenevole sosten-tazione al Pastor universale de tutta la Chiesa.*

So

So you see, that to stop his Revenue, or force him from it, is a crime more treasonable than that of those who would deny to those Kings, who are the Pope's Subjects, to pay them Gabels.

- It is a General Order established of God, That all things should be conveniently ordered, *convenevole*, according to the Degree and Rank which they hold in the Universe; for example, That a Cardinal have the Authority that is futable to his Purple, and not that pitiful little power that futes only with an ordinary Bishop, *tal bassezza d'autorità qual convenisse ad un ordinario Vescovo e non ad un nobilissimo porporato*. And generally speaking, The Church hath power to exact from her Believing Ones whatever is necessary for the maintenance of her Ministers, *li può costringere a tutto il necessario com'è in primo luogo la sostentazione de Ministri*: So that she hath power to levy from the whole Universe, Contributions necessary and proportionable to the Grandeur of her Ministry, *quali richiedonfi alla grandezza della sua amministrazione... questi tributi raccolti da ogni paese Christiano, queste contribuzioni di tutto illo mondo Christiano*.
- Now that which futes the Grandeur of the Apostolick Principality, futes it as it is the Source of all Temporal Profit and Felicity, even according to the Flesh, *fonte d'utilità temporale secondo la carne in quel modo ch'è più conforme eziandio all'umana felicità*,
- 1.20.c.3.
- 1.17.c.10.
- 1.1.c.25.
- 1.2.c.6.
- 1.23.c.3.
- 1.1.c.25.

felicity, then must needs this humane felicity be found in the Pope, as in its source. Now Felicity according to the Flesh, consists in Riches, Honours, Pleasures, and in all besides which the World loves, esteems and admires; to the end that the Pope may afterwards convey it, as it were, in several streams or veins all the World over; wherefore the Pope is compared not only to the Soul or Head from whom the Body derives Being, and all the Felicity it is capable of, but he is also compared to the Stomach.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Pope is the Stomach of the Churches Body, which disperses shares of Nourishment to all his believing ones, that be Members of his Body.

'T^{IS} true that all the Tribute which the Pope levies upon the World, seems to tend to enrich only the Vassals of his Temporal Domain, or his home-born Subjects, *questi tributi raccolti da ogni paese Christiano l. 2. c. 26. paian colare ad arricchir solo i vassalli del dominio temporale*; nevertheless in truth it is not so, *in verità non è poi così.*

But to make the thing better understood, we must use the Fable which whilom *Mennius Agrippa* made use of when the people of Rome revolted against the Senate, and re-

fused to fight for it; This sage Polititian told them, that " one day the Members
 " made a revolt against the Stomach, and
 " refused to contribute towards its nourish-
 " ment, but incontinently they perceived
 " that they all fell to languish. One may
 say 'tis the same thing with the Pope, who
 as the Stomach, does not digest for himself
 only the Goods which he possesses, but to
 distribute out to those Believing Ones, that
 be his Members.

That which ought then to be so much the
 more stronger in application of this Simili-
 tude concerning that of the Body Natural,
 is this, The other Members which labour
 for the Stomach, can never be the Sto-
 mach, so they have not that particular rea-
 son to maintain the Stomach's Interests,
 but in the Mystick Body of the Church,
 there is no Member but that may one day
 become Stomach, no faithful Catholick, but
 may hope to become Pope, *habbiamo un cor-
 po dove ogn' altro membro si può convertire in
 stomaco, si come chilo in sangue e poi questo in
 carne.* So that all these faithful Catholicks
 have a particular Interest to contribute to
 the Pope's Felicity according to the Flesh,
 because this Felicity returns back again to
 them according to the share they have in the
 distribution made by him after his having di-
 gested it, as the Stomach of the Church;
 and besides, they or some of theirs may one
 day arrive to this quality of Stomach, and
 then shall they too digest all the Goods of
 the

l.3.c.10.

the World, first for themselves, and afterwards for others.

It should follow from hence, may some say, that in time all the Riches of the World will flow to Rome, to enrich the Pope's Court; but though it should be so, *singiamo* 1.24. c.10. *che con longo giro di secoli questi beni colassero nella corte*, what hurt would there be in it, that all the Goods of the Earth that now pass from one to the other, by way of Inheritance, at a venture, without regard to merit, should be distributed by the Pope to every one according to Justice, and according to their Merits? *Pongasi mente se verum* *Ibid.* *disconcio arrechi alla felicità civile, che molti beni passino da esser dono del caso nell' heredità del sangue, ad esser distribuzione della giustizia nel riconoscimento del merito.*

So that although all the Goods of the World should actually pass by distribution of the Pope, as Victuals do through the Stomach, and as of right all the Goods of the World belong to the Pope, as a King, whose Inheritance is the whole Universe, there is no body but may see that the Carnal Felicity of the Church would be thereby more perfect; at least no body can deny but that the Pope hath right to levy upon the whole Earth what is necessary to make a Carnal Felicity suitable to his Royalty, to make him the richest, the most glorious, and the most happy, even according to the Flesh, of all the Kings and of all the Emperors of the Earth.

ARTICLE XIV.

It is futable to the Pope to have his Kingdom and State apart, and a Princes Court equal to other Kings, superior to all Princes. The Pope's Courtiers be called the Glorious Cardinals: They be the splendor of the Roman Court.

Supposing then, as it hath already appeared, That 'tis necessary for the Unity and Majesty of Church-Government, that there be one Supream Head, and Sovereign Ruler, 'tis convenient, to the end he may be the common Father, and not held suspected by any one, as partial, that he reside not in the States of other Princes, but in his own; That he have a Court and Courtiers, such as the Grandeur of his Administration require, *or supposto che per l'unità del governo, per la Maestà, debba esser un Capo supremo e un supremo Rettor della Chiesa, convien ch'egli, affine di poter esser Padre commune non dissidente à veruno, non habiti nello Stato d'alcuno degli altri Principi mà che habbia Stato proprio, Corte propria, Ministri proprii e quali richiedonfi alla grandezza della sua amministrazione.*

If a man had regard but only to the Grandeur of this Administration, and to its infinite power, the whole Universe, and all the

the Kingdoms of the whole Universe should necessarily appertain to the Pope, immediately in demean: only if the Pope were immediate Lord of all Kingdoms, without any other King upon Earth but him, or that Kings in their Temporal concerns were as the Popes Vicars, men would be ready to attribute Faith, and the Conversion of the World to a humane awe that Folks had of this same King of the World, and not to an affection for Religion. See here then an admirable providence, that the Pope hath a State little enough, to give no place for any evil judgment that some might be ready to make disadvantageous to Religion; on the other side, if this State had been lesser, the Pope would have been too openly exposed to Temporal Princes assaults, wherefore he had one bestowed upon him big enough to defend himself in, *non è sì grande che il culto del Christianesimo si possa ascrivere ad umano timor, e non ad affetto di religione: non è sì picciolo che possa di leggieri il suo possessore venir violentato dalla potenza di principi secolari.* I. I. C. I.

There's the reason then why the Pope is not immediate sole King of the whole Universe; but this does not hinder, but that he may be so in quality of Sovereign, Lord Paramount, as one may so say; of whom all Kings are Tributaries and Tenants, as hath been already been seen; by the right he hath to compel them to pay him contribution for his maintenance, futing the Grandeur of his administration

1. 1. c. 25. ministration, *questi ritratti si cavano da tutti i regni del Christanesimo*: Therefore they ought also to maintain him Courtiers in such State as may besit the Grandeur of their Elevation, and these be the Glorious Cardinals, *Gloriosi Cardinali*, to whom all Bishops are Inferiors, *Prelati loro inferiori*; 'tis clear that their Riches, their Honours, and their Pleasures, their Glory, their Splendor, and in one word, their Felicity, according to the Flesh, *secondo la carne*, ought to be incomparably greater than that of the richest Bishops, who in comparison of Cardinals, are but little Prelats, *piccioli Vescovi*.

- This Degree of Cardinalship is the principal Splendor of the Roman Church, and of its Popes, *quella dignità ch' è il precipuo splendor della Chiesa Romana e de' suoi Pontefici*; and in effect, 'tis a great Glory for a Pope to be able to create Senators, who in Priviledge and Honour are before all the Creatures of other Monarchs, so that even the Children of the greatest Princes aspire to this Dignity, *mentre possono crear Senatori che in privilegii ed onoranze molto avanzino quelli d'ogni Monarca terreno, si che aspirino a tal grado i figliuoli de' sommi principi*.

- Also at Rome, one reckons that Cardinals are above all Princes that be not Kings, *Cardinali che si stimano in Roma superiori ad ogni principe minor de' Rè, predecessero com' era stato fin all' ora il costume, a Principi del sangue reggio*, and in all parts of the Christian World, men render to them the same

Ho-

Honours as they do to Kings, *tanti altri* l. i. c. 8.
*gran Senatori venerati con Reali onoranze da
 sì grande e nobil parte del mondo.*

Thus is it manifest, That Cardinals being
 equal to Kings in Honour, 'tis sutable that
 they should be like unto them in Riches,
 Pleasures and Voluptuousness according to
 the Flesh, *secondo la carne*, and by conse-
 quence, that the Pope may take out of all
 Christendom all necessary Tributes, amply
 to recompence his Cardinals; which could
 not be, if the piety of Christians did not
 furnish out his huge expence, *ciò senza du-
 bio non seguirebbe se la pietà de' Christiani non
 somministrasse à lui la commodità di remune-
 rarli altamente.* l. i. c. 25.

ARTICLE XV.

*Besides the Glorious Cardinals, the Court
 of Rome ought to be filled with an infi-
 nite number of small Prelates that are
 to be equal with Bishops, and these be
 to lead no sad nor poor life, but to be jo-
 cund, and live in plenty.*

Oltre alle innumerabili Prelature, dignità *ibid.*
 e prebende, che in quella si comparisco-
 no; il che fa godere molti con l'effetto e tutti
 con la speranza, laqual forse in questa vita è
 da maggior godimento che l'istesso effetto.

Here is the Glory, the Splendor and the Voluptuousness of the *Roman* Court, according to the Flesh, which consists in the actual possession of an Earthly Felicity; or, as to those who do not at present enjoy it, at least it consists in the hope they have to arrive thereunto, the Felicity of which expectation is many times even in this world, not less than the actual enjoyment; And that this Felicity may be sutable to the Popes Grandeur, 'tis fit he bestow Recompences on that his infinite number of Courtiers with advancements, *altamente*, without impoverishing his Treasure Royal, because the greatest Evil, and the most remediless Want in a Community, is a scarcity of Recompences, when one cannot bestow them without impoverishing the Publick, *nel vero il più dannoso e il più irremediabile mancamento della comunità è la scarsità de' guiderdoni, non potendosi dar quest senza impoverire il pubblico.*

l. 8. c. 17.

Whereby one may judge of the opulency and abundance of the Court of *Rome*, and of the Piety of all Christians, which contribute thereunto, to render it sutable to the Glory of the Universal King and Lord of all the Earth; for it is an Object of Joy for all pious Christians to see the Glory, the Abundance, and the Felicity, according to the Flesh, of that Universal Court of Christendom, *era giocondo oggetto al cuor di ciascuno, il ritrovarsi una Corte universale nel Christianesimo la quale abbracci con indifferenza*

ibid.

ferenza

renza tutti li fedeli, e senza molsa distinzione di patria o di nascimento vi elegga il supremo Principe. A Court wherein indifferently the Sovereignty of the World, an infinite many Dignities, equal to those of Bishops, are exposed to the hope of all, and the enjoyment of those which get them. Was there ever formed a finer Politick Idea? Yea, this is the Government designed by Christ, to render his people remarkable all the Earth over, by Prerogatives so apparent, *questo governo disegnato da Christo per segnalare in terra con manifesta prerogativo il suo popolo.* Now what is the Soul, the Basis, the Band, the moving Intelligence of this Government, but the Pope's Authority? *del qual governa come vedete la base, il legame, l'intelligenza motrice, è l'autorità del Pontefice?* Have not all the Kingdoms of the Earth then a notable instance to maintain the greatness of their King, the Pomp and Glory of his Royal Court, of his Royal City, the Mistress of the Universe, the Court of all Religion? *Regia della Religione, una regia Ecclesiastica,* the Royal Ecclesiastical Court, *una corte, una regia universale, patria commune,* *regia commune,* which cannot be maintained in a manner agreeing with its Institution, without Contributions, vast Riches, Torrents of Gold and Silver, *torrenti di pecunia.*

l. i. c. 25.

Ibid. 1

l. i. c. 2.

l. 8. c. 17.

Ibid.

l. 4. c. 5.

ARTICLE XVI.

The Glory and Felicity sitting with this Court, subsist through her Magnificence in Buildings, Theatres, Spectacles or Sights, of Piety, Processions, Regales, Politick and Warlike Expeditions.

I.I.C.I.

Ibid.

Ibid.

ADd to all this, the Magnificence in Buildings: What prodigious abundance of Means must one have to bestow thereon, though there were, for example, no other Building but that of *S. Peter's Church*, whose Structure alone astonishes, so great and vast it is; *il nuovo edificio della stupenda basilica da san Pietro?* Add to that, so many other Churches and Palaces, which make an admirable Ornament of the Royal City, and Mistress of the Universe; are not these pieces of Workmanship wholly glorious? *Opere gloriose*; the work thereof is immense, and the Millions be numberless that were fain to be collected for only Building of *St. Peter's*? A work worthy of the Monarch of the World, and Sovereign Pontiffe, *affin d'adunare tanti milioni quanti ne assorbiva l'immenso lavoro di quella Chiesa, opera di sommo Sacerdote, ma insieme di sommo Principe.*

It

It was for this, that the Indulgences under Pope Leo X, were Published, which gave occasion to Luther's Heresie; the Sum of Money that arose of them, was not sufficient, *non bastino*, it did furnish but a little to the expence of building that glorious Fabrick, the prime Temple of the World; *qual fabrica più gloriosa che quella del primo tempio che sia nel mondo.* l. 1. c. 25.

To this sort of Expence we may join that of Sights or Spectacles of Devotion, Theatres, Pertumes, Musick, Ornaments, Lights, and other parts of the Glory and Magnificence of Publick Feasts; for in fine, the People will have Theatres and Spectacles, whatever they be; the World bestowed such upon them as nourished their Vices through Voluptuousness: Is it not then the Christian Pietie's and the Christian Policie's part to bestow such as be more voluptuous upon them, to the end, that by so entertaining them, it may draw them to Virtue? *Vuole il popolo i Teatri, ed è non solo conforme à la pietà, ma eziandio alla Politica il far che i Teatri più sontuosi e più dilettevoli sian quello dove il vizio si medica non dove si nutre. Magnificenza di spettacoli, trionfo della Religione, non pompe della vanità.* l. 1. c. 25. l. 24. c. ult.

The diverse Nunciatures, and the Apostolick Legations that must be sent from time to time about the World, must not be forgotten; *Il qualo per bene Christianesimo dee non solo mantenere lo sua Corte, composta di molti ufficiali nobili, ma dar sussidio* l. 2. c. 8.

à pove Cardinali provisionar tanti nunzii, ajutar tanti bisognosi, e premiar tanti benemeriti.

- The Regale that must be made to Nephews and Kindred, *rigaiglie del parentado*, other costs and recompences of Officers and other persons Services, either Noble or Learned or Poor, whom the Pope keeps, the secret Alms which the Pope bestows; as for example, at the Council of Trent, to so many poor Bishops which had not wherewithal to maintain themselves there, *secrete limosine à Vescovi bisognosi*, the Money that was said to be sent to Alexander, to quiet the German Spirits, *i mandati e la pecunia*. These be all heads of Charge, or Articles of expence, and Examples whereby one may judge of such like others; but above all, the charge of Wars against the Hereticks and the *Turks*, the Succours that the Pope gives at all times to Christian Princes; there needs no more but to read what our Cardinal-Historian relates of it in the Tenth Chapter of his Third Book; there one shall see the Torrents of Gold and Silver that go perpetually forth of Rome, to succour Kings and Christian Princes' *torrenti di pecunie*. Could these Torrents go out thence, if they had not first come in there? Now all this can be done only by means of the huge Revenues which the Piety of Christians ought to furnish for maintenance of the Royal Court of the Monarch of the Universe, whose Court is the Soul

Soul that re-unites under one and the same Unity so many Kingdoms, and which of all Countries of his obedience constitutes, one Body Politick, the most Formidable, the most Virtuous, the most Learned, and the most Happy that is upon Earth, *una Corte la quale è l'anima che tiene in unità tanti regni e costituisce i paesi à lei ubbedienti; un corpo politico il più Formidabile, il più Virtuoso, il più Litterato, il più felice che sia in terra.* 1.3.c.10.

Such is then the Fidelity and Glory of the Court of Rome according to the Flesh, and such is the Temporal Felicity of that Church, for this same Felicity according to the Flesh, is a means most gentle, and at the same time, most efficacious to form the Temporal Greatness of the Church, as will be seen in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Twenty Reasons that prove the necessity of the Riches, Honours, and Voluptuousness of the Church, to make thereof a Gospel according to the Flesh, the Vocation of all the World to Faith, and a part of that World to the Ecclesiastick Life, without which Riches Honours and Voluptuousness, the Church having no Reputation among them who fancy those things, would perish, not being able to subsist happy, according to the Flesh, if her Ministers were poor, as formerly, and if they had not vast Riches, as the Glorious Cardinals, who are at this day the Pope's Courtiers: Here also shall be shewn the unluckiness, the shamefulness, and even the Vice

Vice of Poverty, whereof God in his Providence, is no Author, but Sin; or only Fortune, which on this score, may be accused as the Enemy of Virtue.

ARTICLE I.

Corrupt Nature loves Riches, Honours and carnal Pleasures; if the Church had not of them to propose and bestow, there would be but few Christians. The Church is composed of three sorts of Persons. The Magnificence and Stateliness of Rome is able to work the Conversion of the Mahometan Princes: The Popes must have somewhat else to be for them beside God.

THe Pope's power being without Armed Forces, cannot make Infidels to believe, or to list themselves in the Churches Communion, but through fair and gentle means; but still efficacious by accommodating it self to Natures corrupted inclinations, as hath been said, for man seeing he does Idolize himself, would never be ruled if he were not ticed and wheedled on by promises and recompences, *l'huomo ch' è Pidolo* l. I. c. 39.
di

di se stesso non si coudorrebbe mai senon allertato dal premio. Therefore it is that the Romanists are at so much costs for Stages or Theatres, and in Shows or Spectacles of Devotion, because people do naturally love Voluptuousness, and will do any thing for its sake, after the inclinations of corrupt Nature; this corruption is such, that if the Church had not the greatest of all Voluptuousness according to the Flesh, to set before and propose to those which She calls to Her Faith, the greatest part of Christians would go seek their Fortune out of the Church, the Church would lose her Reputation, and all her esteem, which is the Basis that holds up all the Engines of her Policy, *la stima ch' è la base di questa machine.*

- 1.5.c.10. The better to conceive this kind of Verity, we must make a distinction of Three sorts of people, which make Three kinds of vocation to this Faith; the first are those who live in the Faith only out of pure zeal, *di purissimo zelo,* and which serve the Church out of pure spirit and courage, *servon la Chiesa per solo spirito,* and these be those which are the purely spiritual, that would love God though there were no Temporal Goods to be hoped for, because they slight all temporal things, *disprezziatrici d'ogni cosa terrena.*

1.8.c.17. The second be those which are made up of Flesh and Spirit, and which are willing to enjoy besides God, as much of the goods of the world as Law will permit, *composti di Carne*

Carne di Spirito, desiderano per quanto la legge di Dio permette anche i beni di questa vita; so they must have a Felicity composed of Spirit and of Flesh, and they would not be so in love as they are with Religion, if they did not give them hopes of worldly Goods, non si nutrirebbe così universalmente l'affetto alla Religione. 19. c. 9.

The Third sort be those who are stark carnal, and which are taken up more with those things that are seen, than with those which are not seen; & these be the greatest number of all, *molti ancora maggiormente s'affezionano à quel che si vede che à quel che si crede.* *Ibid.* Now though this be an ill Quality, the wicked being wicked, only because they prefer the Goods of the Body before those of the Soul and Spirit, *i malvaggi sono malvaggi per che antepongono i beni del corpo à quei dello spirito; nevertheless this disposition of theirs is in some sort not so bad then, if having such a mind as they have after worldly Goods, they should spend them in the Service of Jupiter and Mars, rather than in the Service of Jesus Christ and his Church; so that the Church accommodating it self to their corrupt inclination, calls them to its Faith, and its Communion, by setting before them, and proposing to them greater worldly Goods, and greater Voluptuousnesses, even according to the Flesh, than they could have if they abode in the Service of Jupiter and Mars, ma pur servono al culto di Christo dove prima servivasi à quel di Giove e di Marte.* 1. 6. c. 12. *Ibid.*

Look ye there then, what it is that keeps the Church up in esteem, even amongst people stark carnal, *per conservarla in estimazione anche presso gl'imperfetti.*

Now this Esteem brings forth Veneration, and Veneration is the Basis of the Churches Empire, *quella venerazione ch'è la base del loro imperio*; for without this great Veneration that the Carnal Ones have for the Church, it were not possible to keep the people in, nor to tame them, and make them keep on the Yoke, *richiedendosi grand aiuto di venerazione per ch'egli si contenti di ricevere in bocca il freno*; the Veneration that these Imperfect Ones have for the Church, being founded upon the Carnal Felicity which she puts them in hope of, there's no body but may see how greatly this Felicity is needful to make a Catholick and Universal Vocation of all the World to the Churches Faith; without this Felicity the Church having but a small concourse of these Faithful Ones, would fall into contempt, *povero di concorso vile d'autorità*; but on the contrary, the alone Magnificence of the Buildings at Rome, since Two Hundred Years ago, is able to strike admiration into all Infidel and Mahometan Princes, and to convert them to this Faith, *tanto che tali opere pie fatte in Roma in solo due secoli basterebbono per render venerabile ed ammirabile la nostra religione alli sguardi di tutti i Monarchi Maometani e Gentili.*

And if instead of this Felicity of the Church,

Church, which appears to them, so they did but know how often all goes contrary against the Popes, who have none for them, but the Holy Spirit (quoth our Cardinal) they could not chuse but have Sentiments of Pity, and no Disdain to enter into the Pope's Communion. *Non ho potuto d' hora non compassionare i Pontefici conventi fra loro contrarii e tutti infesti al corso di lei eccetto l'aura dello Spirito santo.* 1.5. c.13. Now if the Pope's having only God on their side, make our Jesuit-Cardinal to pity them, and should appear thus to be miserable in the eyes of others, how should they ever be able to convert *Mahometans*? there must needs be something else then besides the Spirit they speak of, for Popes to work such like conversions; and it would be great pity if a Pope should have but only that for him.

ARTICLE II.

The hope of sharing the Riches, Honours, and Pleasures which belong to the Ecclesiastick state to be Pope, and to possess by Resignation ones Kinsfolks Benefices; these things do make a great and substantial Vocation for People to become Church-men.

l. i. c. 25.

EVERY one knows how much the Ecclesiastick State is glorious to God, the Splendor and Glory of this State is due to the Carnal Felicity wherewith it is invested, *se veramente vogliamo che la Regia spirituale sia frequentata da persone d'ingegno, di lettere, di valore, di nobiltà, lasciando le patrie, sottoponendosi al celibato ed all altre gravetze le quali induce la vita Ecclesiastica, fù mestieri che possano sperare onori ed emurate,* for would there be found so many persons of Wit, of Learning, of Worthiness, of Noble Birth, that would betake themselves to a single Life, and other toilsomnesses which the Ecclesiastical Life obliges them to, if they had not hopes by that means to gain Honours and Temporal Revenues? Without doubt they ought to promise this to themselves, and be content with their condition, partly out of affection for Religion, and partly through joy to see themselves revered,

verenced, and had in veneration as Churchmen, especially amongst their Kindred, *vivano contenti, parte per affetto di religione, parte per godimento di quella reverenza che in ogni famiglia si suol portare alla toga.* Let a man consider what Glory it is for this Faith, to see so many Noblemens and Princes Sons enter into Orders, and consecrate themselves to the Service of God in quality of the Pope's Courtiers. Should this be seen if the Church were poor, and if the Piety of Christians had not afforded Means to the Pope to recompence magnificently all this Gang? *cio senza dubbio non seguirebbe la pietà de' Christiani non somministrasse à lui la commodità di remunerarli altamente.*

For in fine, there is no private man that gives himself to serve the Pope and Court of Rome, but may hope to become one day a Cardinal; that is to say, above Bishops and all Princes, and an Equal for Kings, that may not even hope, himself or some of his to be one day Pope; without doubt, this thought cannot be but most pleasing to all people, *era giocondo oggetto al cuore di ciascuno ... habbiamo una Republica, dove ogni plebeo può divenir senatore, ogni suddito principe.* The Court of Rome is a Court composed of persons of all Nations of the World, where there is none of them but may through his Learning and Deserving, be advanced to the most sublime Dignities, and arrive either at the Sovereignty, or to

1.3.c.10. a participation of the Government and Revenues of the Church, è una Corte composta di tutti i paesi Catolici nella quale ogn'anno con la dottrina e co'l merito può salire alle dignità più sublimi ed havere, ò la sovranità, ò la partecipazione del governo e del patrimonio Ecclesiastico.

But without flying so high, may not every Nephew easily hope for the Benefice of his Uncle, upon his Resignation? And is it not a great comfort that an Uncle may hope one day to leave his Benefice to his Nephew, or to some other of his Kin, or to his Friend? How many young men have been, and are daily educated virtuously, for the sake of this same carnal Expectance?

1.23.c.12. molti giovani sono educati nella virtù con la speranza d'haver sì fatte risegne. di qualche vecchio sacerdote di loro parentado.

Ibid. Even this same hope according to the Flesh, makes the Incumbents more willing and careful to repair or beautifie their Churches, out of the confidence they may be able to substitute in their places such persons as they bear a kindness to, i beneficiati più s'affezionano al ristoro della Chiesa confidandosi di surrogarvi persona loro gradita. On the contrary, take away these Expectations and Hopes from the Roman Court, and leave her only the Spirit, eccetto l'aura dello Spirito Santo, it will be a great Pity, and no Contentment; she must have a better kind of Suckle to suck, miglior sugo, that is to say, a Carnal Felicity; so that there

there is none but may see, that all these Reasons be puissant, and yet mild means to make the Vocations either to this Faith, or to this Clergyship, efficacious, and which is no impediment to the perfection of that State or Order.

ARTICLE III.

The Hope of Carnal Felicity which the Church promises, hinders neither its Perfection, nor the perfection of the Ecclesiastick Order. The Vices of Ambition and Worldly Glory are glittering, bright and taking Vices: These same Hopes of Carnal Felicity, make all Virtues to bud, come forth, and grow up, even to the perfection of the Contemplative Life.

THE Church setting before all the World an hope of possessing either the Royalty of the World, or the Glory and Felicity of the Cardinalship, of the Episcopacy, or other Prelateship, there is no question but the greatest part of them who do enjoy these Honours, made their way thither through all the Virtues which this same carnal Hope made to spring up in them, *il far germogliare le insogni virtu se l.8.c.17. premii fossero pronti.* K 4 This

This was it which rendred the Cardinal of Mantoue so admirable in the time of the Council of Trent, he did not desire, or at least appear to desire, as all others, the Crown nor the Diadem of the Sovereign

l. 2. c. 6.

Pontificat, *illustro lo Pontificato non desiderato, ò almeno così temperamente nell' interno che nulla apparisse di ciò nell' esterno.* This is a rare Example; for Ambition is so glistering, bright a Vice, that it loves to appear abroad; and it is a Vice which is universally in great men, *vizio splendido ed universale à grandi.*

Ibid.

We must be fain then to conclude that these bright Vices which are universally found in Grandees, are not opposite to that Sovereign degree of perfection which their Rank, altogether Divine, doth require, *quel grado che richiede il sommo della perfezione*; for otherwise one must be forced to say that the Vocation to the Popedom, and other Ecclesiastical Dignities, were vicious and corrupt, and by consequence, not of God, which would be quite against all appearance; for as to the State of Holy Father, the Pope's perfection, in as much as he must be adored by the Sirname of *Most Holy*, the sublimeness of Virtue suiting his Degree, is so great, that those imperfections which be nothing in other men, become Monsters in the Sereneship of his Divine State, *è tanta la sublimità di quella virtù la qual si richiede in chi dev' essere adorato con soprannome di santissimo, e come il*

l. 1. c. 2.

l. 1. c. 1.

mezzana fra il Cielo e la Terra, che le imperfezioni insensibili negli altri huomini in quella luce divengono monstrose.

From whence it follows, That if the Hope and ambitious Desire of coming to the Popedom, and the Gladness when one is arrived thereat, which are just like those bright Vices which be in all Grandees, were monstrous Vices in Popes, as 'tis rare to see any come to the Popedom by any other way, according to our Cardinal-Historian; since the Church, as he makes it out, calls them to her Offices through this way, it would follow (a man may say) That as often as one beholds Popes, one should behold Monsters of Pride and Ambition, which had no Piety coming near that which is requisite to an Order that is, as it were, altogether Divine, *pietà quanta si richiedeva da quello stato quasi divino. Divino principato debitore d'una virtù così alta, d'una bontà sempre ammirata, condizion del Ponteficato.* 1.1.c.2.

As to the state of Perfection of the Cardinals, in as much as by their Duty, and the Functions of their Charges, they are the Reformers of Christendom; they are obliged in their Lives to give a perfect Example of all Virtues, *dov'esser più tosto i riformatori del Christianesimo, dar' esempio d'ogni virtù.* 1.6.c.13.

The Cardinal's Order is the Mirror and Rule of all others, which are inferior to it, *ordine Cardinalizio il qual doveva essere specchio e norma degli altri inferiori.* 1.1.c.2.& 1.4.c.5. On the Actions and Examples of the Cardinals, as well

- well as on their Reputation, depends the Good and Honour of the Church, *dall' opera, dal esempio, e dalla riputazione di essi pendesse il bene e l'onor della Chiesa.* And as it is the Roman Court which is the principal Reformer, it is that also which ought to be the first reformed, *che la principal reformatrice fosse anche la prima riformata;* for the Government of the Church Universal being upheld by the Councils of the Cardinals, it would be unhandfom if the Course and the Virtue of their Lives should not be so conspicuous and regular as to draw the eyes of all the World upon it, *al cui consiglio pressa al Pontefice essendo apoggiata l'amministrazione della Chiesa universale, è deforme cosa ch'essi non risplendano con tali ornamenti di virtù e di disciplina nel la lor vita, onde traggano gli occhi di ciascheduno.*

From whence it must be concluded, according to the Principles of our Cardinal-Historian, that the bright and glistering Vices of Ambition, of Desire and Hope of Riches, and Honours and of Pleasures according to the Flesh, which are found universally in all Grantees, are not those monstrous things that be opposite to the State of Perfection, nor to the Reputation of the Order of Cardinals.

As concerning the state of Perfection of the Bishops, one needs only to read the Decrees of the Council of Trent, to know what belongs to their Rank, which is so exalted, that all men are not, and there be very few which

which are found able to reach it, poco eminente sarebbe la perfezione convenevole alla I. 2. c. 3. Ignita Episcopale se fosse in tal grado che vi inugnessero, o tutti o molti.

And thus too, forasmuch as they as well as others, have their share of these bright make-shew Vices of Ambition, and the Love of Felicity according to the Flesh, one is also fain, of necessity, to conclude, That hat these kind of vain-glorious Vices are not so monstrously opposite to their Calling, nor to their state of Perfection; otherwise they would be all Monsters which fill all the Chairs and Thrones of the Ecclesiastical state; for in fine, if it be true, That the Hopes of the Worldly Means of the Church make all Virtue to sprout; it is certain hat that Hope in the Church adds such spurs o Virtue, as there be not the like in any Republick in the World, *il quale stimolo alla virtù non è o fu mai sì forte in verun altro principato dopo la creazione del mondo.* I. 12. c. 3. Then also is it true too, That the abundance of these very Goods is the Dug which nourishes these Virtues after they are brought forth, *adunque l'abondanza di questi beni è nammella per nutrir la virtù nella Chiesa.* I. 8. c. 17.

Who is it, for example, that would submit himself to be under the Rules of a single Life, and yield, if one may say so, hat Pension to God, which is so difficult a matter to pay truly, if there were no consideration for it, but only Hopes in the Air of invisible Benefices, and Preferments here-

hereafter; but that the Church hath here in this Life, those other to give whose Revenues are in present, and more solid according to the Flesh, *una garvissima pensione a' beneficiati: ed è peso tanto grave consiglio difficillimo della continenza.*

No doubt on't, but if the Hopes of the Temporal Goods of the Church were taken away, a man should not see so many Noblemen and Gentlemen engage themselves in the Ecclesiastick Life, *harebbe ritenuti molti nobili dalla vita Ecclesiastica.*

Mean time, every one knows how much the Single Life serves to put a man upon Contemplation of the things of Heaven, *il che riesce di tanto più ad applicar gli huomini alla contemplazione celeste;* so that it is clear, That all those Barons which post after Benefices, would never have applied themselves to the same Contemplative Life, if they had not caught the Benefices; which makes it appear, That these splendid Vices be not so opposite to this Contemplative Life, and yet at the same time, a happy Life according to the Flesh; and that the Church would be deprived of an infinite many of these blessed Contemplative men, if she had not an infinite many fat Benefices to make thereof for them a corporal Beatitude; for if the Church had been poor, humane frailty is so great, that she would never have had the Glory to have seen these Contemplative Barons invested in her Offices and in her Dignities, whom she calls

calls thither through the Hope which she gives them thereof, *il che per l'umana debolezza non così auvarebbe nella povertà della Chiesa.* From whence it appears, That this Politick Prudence is not opposit to Piety, *la Prudenza politica non ripugna così alla Pietà Christiana.* l. 1. c. 25. l. 15. c. 6.

The First of the Twenty Reasons why the Church makes use of the promise of Temporal Goods to call Lay-men into Orders. The Excellency of the Angels is, to have no need of Lackies; that of Men to have a great many of them.

The perfection of a Magnificent Work, is, to have a deal more about it than it needs, to the end it may appear more splendid; for example, the Magnificence of a Palace upheld by rich Columns, is, to have many more of them than needs precisely to uphold it, *si come appunto ad un magnifico edificio si pone maggior numero di colonne ch'è sufficiente a sostentarlo.* l. 13. c. 3.

Unto this marvellous neat Example the Reverend Father John Baptist Giatino the Jesuit, who translated into Latin this same History of our Cardinal, Printed at Antwerp, in 1670, addeth another surprizing Example, which is that of Lackeys: A Great Lord (quoth he) hath need of some Lackeys,

Lackeys, there's no doubt on't; then 'tis for his honour to have a great many of them; yea, a many more than the number precisely necessary; but on the contrary, the Angels having no need of Lackeys, 'tis their excellency to have none at all. *Angelorum est prestantia, qui famulis non indigent, famulis carere, sed hominum quibus sunt opus, prestantia est, supra quam indigeant iis abundare.*

From whence that Father takes occasion to make this general Proposition, That as for those things which have no need of supports, their perfection is to have none at all; but as for those which have need of support, their excellency and their perfection is to have more of them than needs, *ita universe rebus que fulcimentis non egent, prestantia vertitur, fulcimentis vacare; sed rebus que fulcris indigent, eis plus quam indigent abundare.*

Now the Felicity according to the Flesh, hath need of some Riches, of some Honours, and of some carnal Pleasures; and by consequence, the excellency and the perfection of that Felicity is to have a superfluous abundance of Riches, of Honours, and of Pleasures, even according to the Flesh.

The Zealous will be ready to object, That in the present Life, 'tis man's imperfection to stand in need of things, and that it is a perfection to have no need of them.

The Cardinal-Historian answers them according

cording to the Principles of the *Religious Policy*, that *Aristotle* teaches the contrary; for he says, That the Arts which serve to help our necessities, were first invented in the World, and afterwards the Wit of man applied it self to those Arts which serve to the Felicity of Life, *insegna il filosofo prima essersi ritrovate le arti che sovengono alla necessità e dipoi rivolto l'ingegno all' invention di quelle che servono alla felicità della vita*: So that according to *Aristotle*, there is a carnal Felicity in the Christian Life, and upon this Politick Rule of *Aristotle*, the Church did presently in the first Ages provide things of Necessity, afterwards she took care to get her self a Court-Royal-Universal, which might have, without impoverishing it self, wherewithal to recompense a great number of Excellent persons that were to serve this Republick, and consecrate themselves to God, specially in that kind of Life which is led in the Pope's Court, where their Virtues suck abundance of Milk out of her Breasts; that is to say, out of that Court's Temporal Felicity according to the Flesh, which cannot subsist, but through abundance of Riches and Temporal Goods, *dapoi che s'è supplito si ampia- mente al bisogno, non era forse oportuno di provvedere anche ad una Corte e ad una Reggia universale laqual potesse alimentare e rimunerare gran numero d'huomini, i quali servissero a quella Republica e si dedicassero specialmente a Dio in questa vita; adunque l'abondanza* *ibid.*

danz a di questi beneficii simplici è la mammella per nutrir la virtù nella Chiesa.

So that the abundance of Riches, of Honours, and of Pleasures, making a Felicity, whereof the Church is the Source, and the Hope whereof, makes the Vocation of the Ecclesiastical Estate, yea, and even their Vocation to the Faith; the more one hath of these Goods, the more one is happy with an Ecclesiastical Christian Felicity: Now the more happy one is, the more perfect one is; yea, one is the more perfect, according as he hath more of this sort of the fore-mentioned Felicity; and ones Virtues are kept by it so much the more in better plight, and are better bred Virtues; if the Church then had remained poor, should one have seen her Offices and her Dignities filled with so many *Virtuoso's* as now there be, Great Wits and well-bred men; no never; for humane Frailty is so great, that all this Glory of the Church would never have appeared, if she had remained poor, *che per l'umana debolezza non così auverrebbe nella povertà della Chiesa.*

If the Church had remained poor, she would have remained unhappy according to the Flesh, without Joyfulness, Splendor, or Honour, and by consequence, imperfect, as well as unhappy, and deprived of the Felicity of *Aristotle*: Now Jesus Christ did not preach a Felicity contrary to the Doctrines of *Aristotle*; so that this Felicity hath nothing contrary to Jesus Christ's; it hath

hath no thing which is not conformable with it, but that therewith the Church may serve it self, to make her vocation of the World in general unto this Faith, and of some into Orders.

Reason II.

Can any blame the carriage of the Church, if in imitation of what God did under the Old Testament, she accommodates her self to humane imperfections and makes use of earthly recompences as it were of an allurement to train on men to the Clériship, and to hold out the fatigues of the Ecclesiastical life without Marrying; *Possi per ciò riprender la Chiesa s'ella, ad imitazione di ciò che faceva Iddio vel vecchio Testamento, s'accommoda all imperfezione umana ed alletta eziando con premii terreni à pigliar i legami dello stato Chiericale e le fatiche de' ministerii Ecclesiastici.* l. 9. c. 9.

Let the Zealous object, that God did never propose to his People temporal goods, as necessary to their felicity, even temporal and fleshly. All the true felicity of the Flesh being in those times only the hope of Eternity, according as God did will, that even the Flesh after it's capacity should partake of, *caro mea requiescet in spe.* All other carnal felicity being a sin condemned of God in the Old as well as in the New Testament.

Yet the Cardinal, according to the principles of his Policy, maintaines, that these ideas which seem fine in Speculation, are

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some of those forms, which have no consistence with the dispositions of their matter : for in fine the *Jewish* People did believe, that temporal goods did make a true felicity according to the flesh, for them ; they loved them as such, and so did they beg them of God, and he did grant them.

Ay, but the Zealous will reply, God indeed did grant them to that People, but not as they did make a true felicity, no such felicity being the true one ; but only that which comes from the hope of Eternity, *spe gaudentes*. But granted them temporal goods, telling them that they were not their felicity, warning them not to cosen themselves, to believe they were such, nor to look after them as such, nor to pray for them, as things making a kinde of true felicity for them, and that all their prayers made through this false faith were sin, and their Sacrifices abomination before him ; that *Job* upon the Dunghill, saying with that his very flesh, which was then full of sores, he should see his God and his Saviour, after he was risen again from the dead, was more happy even according to the flesh in that hope, than ever *Solomon* was in all his false carnal felicity.

Sid.

To all this, the Cardinal saith, that these be Platonick Ideas ; *lasciamo i discorsi, poniamo il negozio in prattiqua*. These be fine discourses : but let us fall upon practice. Hath Jesus Christ as to the Government of his Church, taught any thing contrary to the lessons of *Aristotle* and the other wise Heathens

thens? Did God the Father teach his People things contrary to what his Son hath taught? Ones wisdom is not opposite to the others. *Aristotle* and all the *Pagan* Legislators won upon People through hope they gave them of carnal felicity. Is it possible that the Church can teach any thing else? *come si la Chiesa di Christo predicasse ch'è contrario non dico á l'insegnamenti d' Aristotele ma d' ogni tolerabil Republica de' gentili.* As if a carnal felicity for being *Pagan*, or for being *Jewish*, could not be Christian. l. 9. c. 9.

The Church is a Corporation the most happy that ever was, and the most happy that is upon Earth; *il corpo più felice che sia in terra.* Then her felicity according to the flesh, that is to say, the happiness of riches, honours and carnal pleasures ought to be greater, and more abundant in all those goods, than if it were yet a *Jewish* or a *Pagan* felicity: For what should oblige men to part with either their *Paganism* or their *Judaism* to become Christians or Prelates in the Church, if the Church were not able to assure them, that by entering into its Communion they should be richer and more voluptuous than the *Jews* or the *Pagans*?

Reason III.

Nature it self, doth it not teach men this prudence to act through motives of temporal good, as of riches, honours and pleasures? *la natura medesima c'insegna questa prudenzia.*

1.9. c. 9.

When for example she invites them to eat, does not she propose pleasure for the Motive, and that which is pleasing in the food; *invitando gli huomini non che ad altre azioni honeste, á mantener la propria vita co'l diletto del cibo.*

The Zealous will reply, that tis even in this that the corruption of Nature consists, to take pleasure, for the Motive of its actions; whereas it ought not to consent to pleasure, but as unto a repose till its force return again, the better to fall on again to its business, and that even *Aristotle* was no ignorant in this Doctrine.

Within the large compass of our Cardinals principles, 'tis easie enough to reply hereupon, that if it be in this that the corruption of Nature consists: The Church, to the end her Laws may take effect, is obliged to accommodate them to the imperfections of corrupt Nature, and to suffer a les evil to shun a greater.

A. 8. c. 17.

The greatest of all evils would be to see the Church and the Ecclesiastical Principality to perish. Now tis certain that this Principality would perish and all the Church with it, in condition which things are now in, if she had not riches, honours and carnal pleasures to nourish the virtues of her Priests; *togliendosi.* The Milk and the Dugs of the Church being once taken away, the Church would be destroyed, because the carnal felicity of the Court of *Rome* would be brought to nought; *cia che farrebbe peggio,*
man-

mancherebbe il principato Ecclesiastico che mantiene in unit , in regola ed in decoro tutta la Chiesa. Now is it possible that any greater evil should happen than that same? No certainly.

For to hinder this, there needs no more but to set up in the Church carnal felicity, that may be pleasing to corrupt Nature and serve for a motive to receive its Faith, and to undergo the toilsomeness of a Clergy man's life; if this be a corrupt Motive, yet this same corruption serving as the remedy of so great an evil it ought to be regain'd, as a very great good, *minimo male massimo bene.* l. 23. c. 3.

It would be very good tis to be granted, if all were done through the Motive of piety, and not of gain, *per affetto di piet  e non di guadagno.* l. 17. c. 10. But if the Church tending only after this same goodness, did propose no Motive of gain, this very thing would become the foundation of the greatest evil; *fondamento del male;* for the Church would have no more a Court of Rome, nor an Apostolical Principality, which upholds the whole Church. So that this good becoming the ground of evil, would become worser than if it were an evil in its own Nature, *con divenir* *ibid.* *fondamento del male, riesce peggior che se di natura sua fosse male.* What must be done then according to right Policy? Why, set this same kind of goodness forth of the Church, which is only for proposing Piety, for the Motive to bring men to the service of

God, and would be for imploying Church riches for to relieve the Poor, rather than to make carnal felicity for Churchmen, this heroical felicity must be absolutely destroyed, *convien tolorà levar un bene quind' egli con divenir fondamento del male riesçe peggiore che se di natura sua fosse male.* In such case poverty is vice, and poverty in Churchmen would be worse in them than sin; *peggiore che se di natura sua fosse male.*

Ibid.

So that although it were an evil in the Church, to propose carnal felicity and the enjoyment of carnal pleasures to those, she would bring into her Bosom; yet in respect of Politick prudence, this false Faith being the lesser evil, it becomes stark honesty and hath all the qualitys of goodness which render it laudable, *il minor male in risguardo alla prudente elezione h'è onestà, è lode volezza di bene.*

1. 2. c. 6.

Reason IV.

A government is not to be blamed, if through hope of Booty the Souldiers be stirred up to forrage a Country, to conquer it, and kill their Enemies, *capi militari con speranza della preda e del sacco stimolano gli eserciti à l'espugnazione del paese nemico.* Booty and pillage are the pincipal ends that Souldiers purpose to themselves, *il principale nell'guerra rispetto al Soldato, è il botino.* Should a man do evil to exhort Souldiers by this hope? Now then do but suppose that Clergy-

1. 9. c. 9.

Ibid.

men

men may have for the principal Motive of their functions carnal felicity, which is the recompence thereof, *il principale nè' Ministerii sacri sia il temporale & non lo spirituale.* Ibid.
Can the Church be blamed to set before them the carnal Motive of this same felicity, and to offer fat benefices to those, which she invites to the toilsomeness of the single life and to be Clergymen, to make the condition more desirable and more supportable?

The Zealous will object here, that the Church should teach Clergy-men that carnal pleasure is not right humane felicity, and that if they believe that riches be able to make their felicity the right even as to their flesh, which is baptized, their faith is false as well as their pretended felicity, they renounced that pretended felicity when they received Baptism: for that which may be the cause of Eternal damnation can never be the right felicity, no not even according to the flesh, which is redeemed and sanctified to be saved.

According to the Principle of the Religious Policy of this same our Cardinal; one answers, that these be discourses in the Air, let's leave off discourses, and come to matters that be practiced, *lasciamo i discorsi, poniamo il negozio in pratica.* 'Tis a matter of fact according to the Cardinal's principles, that most part of men are more taken with that which is seen, than with that which is believed, *molti ancora maggiormente s' affezionano à quel che si vede, che à quel che si crede.* Ibid.
All this multitude of folks here in the

World would never have left off worshipping of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, and to betake themselves to the worship of *Jesus Christ*; if this same Church had not told them that she had more carnal felicity to reward them with all than they could ever expect from *Mars* or *Jupiter*. Why should any one be loath then, that the Church should begin the preaching of her Gospel, upon that point; that from thence she may begin their vocation to the Faith? If she went about at first to disabuse them, and tell them that the felicity of the senses is no true felicity, and that all the delight thereof is but error, and false felicity; who in these times wherein we live would believe such a Gospel? Here are your demonstrations as they be call'd in the affair of Politick Religion. But when one at very first doth preach thus to the People, *viz.* That the Court of *Rome* is a Theatre, and a Treasury set open with the deservingness of all men, without distinction of any Nation, a Treasury and a Theatre common to all the learned and to all the persons of merit of Christendom, *un erario ed un teatro commune al valore, alla dottrina, al merito di tutti li Christiani.* That in this Court is every subject may become a Prince, and every Prince King of the Universe, *ogni plebeo può divenir Senatore, ogni suddito Principe.... ogn'uno può selire alle dignità più sublime ed havere ò la sovranità ò la partecipazione del governo e del patrimonio Ecclesiastico.* Who is it now that would not become a Christian, if he have but never

l. 24. c. 20.

l. 3. c. 10.
Ibid.

so little belief in the words of these Apostles, and love for their carnal felicity.

Reason V.

The Sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ, are sources of his Grace which is Spiritual, and yet their matter is corporal, *i medesimi Sa- l. 23. c. 12. cramenti i quali son fonti della grazia divina furono istituiti da Christo in materia sensibile.* So also riches and carnal pleasures, though they be temporal things, may well be the sources of the highest Virtues in those who act through the Motive and hope of getting temporal goods, and of enjoying them. 'Tis clear then that neither those who for recompence of the toilsomness of their Clergyship propose to themselves carnal felicity, nor the Church which promises these felicitys are to be blamed, *val ciò di premio alle fatiche sostene- Ibid. ut lungo tempo dall' antico beneficiato.* Riches are as one may say the Sacraments of carnal felicity, and the Ecclesiasticks are Ministers thereof.

The Zealous will look upon this compassion of sensible Sacraments, with sensible felicity, as a piece of blasphemy.

But according to the Principles of our Cardinal, the Sacraments make Vertues to sprout forth and feed them being sprung, in this all agree with him; but what is there besides the Sacraments that's fitting to make vertue sprout, but the expectation of carnal recompences? *Se i premii fossero pronti, sa- l. 8. c. 7. rebbe*

rebbe agevole il far germogliare le insigni virtù.

The Zealous will reply, that it was very easie for God to give the recompence which he promised, and yet the promises of God and his recompences had not the effect to make those remarkable and grand Vertues spoken of here before to sprout forth in that People; but on the contrary all their old Worship was nothing for the most part but abominable hypocrisie before God.

The answer is not difficult, following our Cardinals Principles: It had been yet much worse, if God had not had recompences to promise unto them, for they would not so much as have rendred him any Worship or service though but hypocritical, and no-wise pleasing to him; they would have forsaken him quite as they did so often, and as Christians would do at this day to serve *Jupiter* and *Mars*, if Jesus Christ did not promise them a temporal and carnal felicity, greater than *Jupiter* or *Mars* do promise.

Reason VI.

In a good action, may be considered the interiour Piety, which God recompenseth with Eternal felicity, and the exterior pains which futeably God is to recompence with temporal reward: for humane incommodities ought to be rewarded, with humane pay,

L. I. c. 25. conviene che nel culto divino l'umane incommodità siano ricompensate con altri umani vantaggi.

It

Is it not a rugged task to be obliged to pray to God every day an hour and an half, or thereabouts? *Interno ad una ora e mezza d'orazione cotidiana.* The urgent instances which the German Priests made at the Council of Trent for leave to Marry, do not they leave witness, how troublesome it is to lead the Clergy's single life, and that their continence is very painful? *Le istanze perpetue della Germania pe'l matrimonio de' sacerdoti testificano se resti una gravissima pensione à beneficiare.* Can all these inconveniencies be enough recompensed with all the Benefices of the Church? *Ibid.*

Vertue, quoth the Zealous, is recompence great enough of it self, and divine rewards do far out go all that be humane; and as for temporal conveniencies they are due in Justice to those which labour, not as recompences to make up humane felicity for them, otherwise then so far forth, as they may be necessary means to make them to live in the service of God, *non in pagamento ma in sustentamento:* 'Tis only hopes of Heaven that makes humane felicity even here upon Earth, *spe gaudentes;* all other humane felicity is false. *l. 8. c. 16.*

But these Zealous Persons may please to consider, that God hath undertaken to root up out of man's heart his Natural inclinations, *non vuole Iddio sveller dagli animi le innate inclinazioni.* Now corrupt Nature believes that there is a civil Politick humane felicity, such as Aristotle and the Philosophers were acquainted *l. 1. c. 25.*

acquainted with, which consists, not in the hopes of Eternal welfare which is supernatural, but in the injoyment of Riches, Honours and carnal pleasures; corrupt Nature following this belief, hath an inclination for this felicity. God came not to root out inclinations so Natural.

Ibid.

To believe that the hope of Eternal welfare is the only felicity of this temporal life, and to follow that faith, is an heroik Vertue. 'Tis not God's design to make a general infusion of this Faith, and of this heroick Vertue in all Christians, *non vuole Iddio infunder universalmente una virtù eroica*. So that according to our Cardinal, the Gifts and divine Virtues of the Holy Spirit are not heroical Vertues; because they be common to all Christians, who be in the state of grace and ought to be saved, but Christians may be saved without this same Faith and heroical Vertue whereof he speaks. We are no longer in the times of Heroes, nor of their combats against Tyrants; we are in a time of Peace and humane Vertue, which is nourished by and finds its felicity in humane rewards. In the time of persecution, and of Heroes, there were more Saints than in this present time of humane Vertue, but on the other side there were fewer then that were saved. On the contrary in these times there are more saved and fewer Saints, because the Heroes times were times of Victories and of combats to get to Heaven, but ours is a time of facility and easie Devotion: *Se questa con vittoria della difficol-*

l. l. c. 25.

ta

ta è più feconda di santi, quella con l'acuto della facilità è più abbondante di salvi.

Here now as 'tis called, is demonstration in Politick Religion! After which no man may doubt that the Church hath not right to call men to the Faith, through the hopes of Riches Honours, Pleasures, and all carnal and humane delights, which are enjoyed in her Communion in this happy time of humane felicity.

Reason VII.

The People could not live without carnal felicity, according as every one's gust requires to please his sense, wherefore they will have Theatres and Stage-Plays, *vuole popolo i teatri*; they are set upon it obstinately to love this felicity; it is necessary then to govern them according to this obstinate inclination of corrupt Nature. Why should not the Church then bestow and allow them Stage-Plays and Sights and Theatres.

But to furnish People with these pleasures and to flatter their senses with these satisfactions, the Prelates themselves must have Riches and Pleasures, and in such great abundance that they may be able to give them out abroad in large measures, for no body can give forth what he hath not.

The Zealous will say, that this is to uphold Peoples errors, who find in the pleasing of their senses a delight which they call felicity: That the delight of the senses in this, cannot without error be called felicity nor be

be loved as such without sin, and that 'tis never permitted to contribute to any sin how little soever it be under pretence to avoid a greater thereby, *che sia sempre illicito il fare mali*. And therefore that the Church cannot make use of those Poms and Ceremonies which she reckons necessary to refresh the senses, and procure attention, which the Soul ought to have for divine things: the right felicity of senses regenerate, being to serve God according to, and in the perfection of Christian regenerated Souls; all other carnal felicity, being false, and all love of false felicity, sin, and an error in the heart, which the Church ought not to cherish under colour of avoiding greater thereby.

1.6.c.3.

1.1.c.25.

To this it is answered according to our Cardinal. That the common Proverb among them which have Law business, is, that an Ounce of Fact is more worth to win your cause than many Pounds of Argument, *essendo commun' proverbio che à vincer i liti più vale un' oncia di fatto che molte libre di ragione*, and the fact is constant and apparent, that the Church gives the People Theatres and Spectacles of Devotion, to give them pleasure and a felicity humane, sensual, Devout, *confederando il piacer con la divozione*. She does it, to cure the fondness which they have after other sensual and indevout delights, wherein they might set up a false felicity to themselves: Now this fact being notorious, to what purpose all this reasoning against fact?

It will be replied again that the Church doth

doth not pretend to cherish Peoples errors, who would feign find their humane felicity in sensible delights ; that if in Church shewes or sights, the Ministers go into an excels and beyond that which is necessary to keep the People attentive upon God, the Church is neither guilty nor answerable for those excesses, she condemns them in her Canons, *Interdixit ne' suoni e ne' canti qualunque mistura di lascivo e d' impuro*, and that she does not permit that kind of delight, but in such degree, where it may serve to keep the mind attentive to its Devotions, *ove e il tenore del canto e il significato delle parole sia devoto e quella aiutie e non impedisca l' intendiment di queste* ; and in that degree which may be fitting to instil into hearts, after a sweet manner, sentiments of Piety, *ed acconcio instrumento ad infunder per dolce modo negli animi i sensi della pietà*. But the Church in this did never pretend to serve the Peoples error, which of this delight create to themselves a carnal felicity.

1. 18. c. 6.

Ibid.

Ibid.

All these zealous distinctions be speculative, and discourses are to no purpose where there is visible and manifest experience, *sono indarno i discorsi dove l'esperienza è palese*. 1. 8. c. 19.

So that by these Reasons taken from the Practice of the World, such as it is at this day, and from right Policy, it appears, that the Church may invite unbelievers to the Faith, and believers to the Clergyship for the sake and consideration of an humane felicity, all of Riches, Honours and delights according to the Flesh, *secondo la carne* ; from whence it

it follows that Riches are absolutely necessary for the Church, and poverty would be its ruine and destruction.

19. c. 9.

'Tis fitting to Observe here as a conclusion clearly drawn from the Seaven Reasons foregoing, what advantage 'tis to the Church that her Clergymen should possess all the Riches possible; 'tis much preferable even before the relief of the Poor. *Che la prima e principal parte dell' Ecclesiastiche entrate doverebbe applicarsi a' poveri e non a' Ministranti.* These be the Churches Enemies which broach this, for the Cardinal maintains, that if the chiefest and best Portion of Ecclesiastical Revenues were applied to relieve the Poor, it would be a Custom directly opposite to the felicity of the Commonwealth, to the institution of God and of Nature, *ed io affermo che ciò sarebbe un costume dirimpetto contrario al felice Stato della repubblica, ed à l'istituti di dio e della natura.* So that 'tis upon this Principle that the other Reasons remaining behind shall be grounded.

Ibid.

Reasons VIII & IX.

Poverty is shameful, *turpis egestas*. Now what's shameful is contrary to the Veneration, which the People ought to have for Prelates, and which make the Basis of their Empire, *quella venerazione ch'è la base de loro imperio.* Ecclesiastical Revenues then ought to be employed above all to enrich the Prelates and not others. A man naturally abhors Poverty

Poverty, and the pains-taking which accompanies it as necessary to get a livelihood :

'Tis this same dread that makes men labour, to the end they may shun poverty : if then for all this same dreadfulneſs of poverty, yet ſo many People of the poorer ſort do ſtill lye lazy, what would they do when they ſaw, that there was a ſetled bank for them in the Riches of the Church ? *Che ſarebbe quando ve-*

deſſero una proviſione abondate e ſicura per tutti poveri. So that 'tis better that this bank be

applied for to enrich the Prelates, than to ſuccour the Poor's miſery : the Poor muſt be

made to work to heap up in others that Natural dread which they have of Poverty

and pains-taking, which accompanies it, *in tal maniera ſi mantien l'orrore verſo la povertà* *Ibid.*

come compagna dello ſtento. If a man reads

Chapter the Ninth of the Ninth Book, and Chapter the Ninth of the Sixteenth Book

of the Hiſtory of our Cardinal's Council, he ſhall ſee by what the Cardinal ſpeaks thereof

poverty, as alſo by what he hath already ſaid, that he talks after another manner than

Mahomet. The Cardinal approves the dread and ſhunning of poverty, which he attri-

butes to Nature, whoſe inclination's God will not, quoth he, deſtroy; and the falſe prophet

Mahomet, in his *Alchoran* in the Chapter of the Cow, ſay's the Devil will frighten

you with poverty, condemning the fear of poverty, as a temptation of the Devil.

Thus the Policy of *Mahomet*, is tyrannical and contrary to Nature, but our Cardinals,

M

is

is Religious and all full of new lights.

Reason X.

l. 9. c. 9.

Poverty comes ordinarily from some one of these Five causes, Lust, Gluttony, Crime, Idleness or Misfortune; but the Four first are the most ordinary, so that of Ten Poor, a man scarce finds one that did not become so through his own fault, or his Ancestors, *si che di ogni dieci poveri à fatica si troverà uno la cui povertà non sia proceduta ò da colpa di lui ò degli antenati.* So that pain being inseparable from sin, makes this sin be as much feared, as a man fears the inseparable pain thereof, which in this Case is the sin it self, even poverty, though it be only out of Natural dread that a man hath of pains, which must not therefore be separated from the sin, nor must a bank be made for to relieve the Poor, because they being Poor are therefore guilty sinners; this would give boldness to men to sin, by taking away dread of those miseries which accompany poverty, which follows sin: It's better then to convert this bank unto the profit of the Prelates, and to enrich them and make a voluptuous carnal and devout life for them.

Politick considerations upon that which is called fortune or misfortune.

This Maxime, That all which we see come to pass among men is the effect of a just providence

vidence, would cause if it were true, a very great disorder in the Religious Politick Government. Upon this Principle, 't would be taken for granted, that when a man is not Rich, 'tis a certain sign that he hath no virtue: because a just providence could not leave a virtuous man without temporal reward, nor without preferring him in the distribution of Riches, Honours, and Pleasures, before those who have not so much Vertue; and so it would come to pass, that the perfection or lack of Vertue, being thus openly marked by temporal felicity or misery; every one would be ready to reason thus, This man is Rich, so then he is virtuous, this man is Poor, so then either he is not virtuous, or else his Ancestors were not virtuous, which would cover the face of the Poor with confusion; and in effect ordinarily poverty is shamefaced, because it doth suppose some sin, *turpis egestas*.

Yet it is not just to wrong all that be poor, by believing they have deserved their poverty, by their own or Parents sin: there be poor which have been all their life most virtuous, and so would be very Rich, if by a just providence they were recompenced according to their merit. Indeed the number of this sort of Poor is not great, and of Ten Poor, it may be there is not one which is not Poor, for the punishment of his sin; but yet at last some such virtuous Poor there are, how small soever their number be: 'tis then necessary to cast forth this Maxime,

out of the Religious Policy; for if Poverty goes for Vice, or the mark of Vice without exception, to hear their generally speaking, all the poor are disgraced except the Monks, who make a Vow of Poverty, whereof we say nothing here; so that if a man should seek after Ecclesiastical Benefices, and should be put by, he will be disgraced, which would extreemly trouble the Commonwealth's repose; because no body would be able to suffer a putting by, or a putting after another, with so manifest a shame, *perciò che nessun potrebbe tolerare d'esser postposto con sì manifesta vergogna.*

I. I. c. 25.

The opposite Maxime then is more convenient, which admits a fortune which presides in its turn over the distribution of temporal goods, and which regards this same Fortune as the enemy of Vertue. This Maxime being established, all the unfortunate may be able to cover the shame of their poverty, by accusing Fortune, the enemy of Virtue, which set her self to persecute them, and this kind of accusation will be a Puissant lenitive to their grief, *è un ottimo lenitivo il poter accusar la fortuna come nemica della virtù.* This consideration is from an Author profound in feat of Policy, he proves that this recourse to an unjust Fortune, is necessary to keep up the Publick quiet, *è alta osservazione di qualche scrittore che si fatti abbagli siano necessarii per conservar la quiete nella Republica.* After this manner also did the Nuncio *Alexander*, reason in the Diet at

Ibid.

Ibid.

I. 2. c. 10.

I. 3. c. 16. &

I. 12. c. 3.

Worms,

Worms, whom our Cardinal also approves, and who upon this Principle did observe amongst the causes of Poverty, misfortune as the fifth, *il disastro*, that is to say the Dis- 19. c. 9.
grace of Fortune, enemy of Vertue.

Now the Providence of God cannot be enemy of Vertue; so that what one calls Fortune in right carnal and Religious Policy, is not according to the Principles of our Cardinal, the same thing as divine Providence. Also he does not fear to say that it would be better if the Pope were in actual possession of all the Riches of the Universe, that he might make distribution of them to every one according as he deserved then to see them distributed as they be, by way of inheritance without any discretion, and to go from Father to Son, at hap-hazard, *esser dono del caso nell' 1. 24. c. 10.
eredità del sangue*. The Estates which go from Fathers to Children, by way of inheritance, go to them according to his reckoning by hazard, and not by divine Providence: otherwise he might say it would be better, that they went by the Order of the Popes Providence, then by that of the Divine: Thus in general it is true to say according to him, that Fortune hath a great share in distributing Estates, *nel conseguire i gran' beni suol haver parte la fortuna*; and that ordinarily the events of Fortune do concur to make Vertue honoured, and Vice hated, *gli avvenimenti della fortuna concorron tutti 1. 3. c. 8.
con fare che per lo più la bontà sia onorata ed amata, e'l vizio vituperato e odito*. Which

comes to pass, because the goodness of divine Providence corrects when it pleases, malignity of Fortune, Virtues enemy, or else the industry of man surmounts Fortune's malignity; for 'tis upon this account we say, That many times a man is the Artifice of his own Fortune, *onde per lo più è vero il detto che ciascuno è fabro della propria fortuna.* But when it is not so, this malignity of Fortune, doth not fail to show it self, and to make it appear that sometimes, and in her turn she presides alone over these events! Thus it was to Fortune that our Cardinal attributeth, for example, the event of the Regency of Queen *Catharine de Medicis in France,* *dalla fortuna fu riservata ad havere la corona di Francia e l'assoluto imperio di quella Monarchia.*

1.9.c.19.

1.14.c.3.

1.14.c.8.

So the Kingdom of *England,* being reconciled to the Church under Queen *Mary,* who preceeded *Queen Elizabeth,* he concludes thereupon, That there are vicissitudes of Fortune vanquished by Vertue, which fill mortals with admiration though without reason. Inconstancy being so Natural in the World, that the greatest of all marvels would be, if inconstancy did not rule therein *vicende di fortuna ch'empiono di maraviglia i mortali.* On the contrary, the advancement of *Elizabeth,* and the Heresies reestablishment, he attributes to Fortune Victorious, rather than to the Spirit of that Queen, *in ciò più adoperasse la fortuna che l'accortezza.* But then there are some

some things, which according to our Cardinal, God never leaves to Fortune, as for example the Election of a Pope, *divina provvidenza la qual non vuole che un Papa si elegga à caso*; which makes it appear according to the Cardinal that there be then some events, which God leaves to hazard and fortune, such, for example, as the dying of a child, without baptism, when by chance, there's no water to be found, *è caso fortuito che non si trovi acqua*, or when the Child dyes in its Mother's Belly, *è caso fortuito che'l fanciulli moia nel ventre*: For then nothing hinders to admit a state wherein 'tis possible the Child may be saved provided it come by accident, *ove non sia naturale ma accidentale*. For God was able to leave these sort of accidents to Fortune, without providing for them in his Providence, *soltanto gli avvenimenti fortuiti*. 'Tis even the same in distribution of temporal Goods, Honours, Riches, Pleasures, when 'tis made with injustice, that is, when the vertuous have the least share thereof: for then it appears that this event can have no other cause, but that enmity which Fortune exerciseth against Vertue, when by hazard that enmity becomes Victorious. The establishing of this Politick, and Religious Maxim hath been very important according to our Cardinal, as we have seen here before, for Publick repose and quiet, whereas on the contrary, the Zealous who refer all to divine Providence, attribute events to it altogether unjust: they overwhelm the Poor

l. 14. c. 10.

l. 9. c. 8.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

with shame and confusion, so that they can find neither lenitive for their quiet, nor a vail for their shame, which fills all with confusion, and makes it appear how dangerous it is under the pretence of Piety, to be ignorant, or to forsake the Rules of the right carnal and Religious Policy, which hath the repose, and Worldly felicity of People for its object, *prudenza politica la qual habbia per oggetto la quiete e la felicità mondana de' popoli.*

l. 14. c. 8.

Reason XI.

Quoth the Cardinal, I willingly allow that those heaps of excessive Wealth, in one sole Person is an offence against distributive justice, *aggiungo che i medesimi eccessi dell' entrate Ecclesiastiche, i quali cadono quivi in una persona stessa con offessa della giustizia distributiva.* 'Tis a sin, 'tis true, but a sin, which is turned into good for an infinite company of men; *convertansi in beneficio d' innumerabili.* Because remorse of Conscience and desire of reputation put together, spur on Rich Prelates to undertake Magnificent works of Piety, which bring great honour to God, great relief to the Poor, setting them on work for the Ornament of the City, and Royal Ecclesiastical Court, in so much that such very buildings are enough to make Converts of Infidel and Mahometan Princes; *nel sollevamento delle povertà, nel fomento della virtù, nel esecuzione di pie opere grandi.*

l. 8. c. 17.

Ibid.

l. 22. c. 11.

All

All this would never be, if Prelates were not rich, and if the chief and best Portion of the Churches goods were distributed among the Poor; and there would be a great evil in the Church, whereof this pretended Charity for the Poor, would be the ground. Now that which is the ground of so great an evil, is worse than a sin, according to our Cardinal, so that this pretended Charity for the Poor, which would hinder the carnal felicity of Churchmen, would be worse according to him than sin.

Reason XII.

The Prelates will not reduce themselves to as strict a life as Monks; *non vogliono ridursi a quel rigore di vita.* But yet through their Riches they be the props of those Holy Academies of Ecclesiastical perfection; *sono il sostegno di queste santo palestre di perfezione Ecclesiastica.* l. 9. c. 9. Ibid.

So that this can be no less than the Churches great Zeal, and great Wisdom; *gran zelo e gran saviezza nella chiesa,* that hath settled so many Millions of Rent throughout all the extent of Christendom, to imploy only for rewarding of those which labour in the perfection of others, which the Prelates themselves will not attend to, *il castigar tanti milioni di rendite a mercede solo di questi Ministri.* l. 9. c. 9.

Reason XIII.

Put case, quoth our Cardinal, that all Benefices were infructuous, bringing in no Revenue to the incumbents, *siano ministerii infruttiferi*; what would come ont? One should see presently fall to ground the Ecclesiastical Order, upon which depends the exercise, the knowlege, and the Port or stateliness of Religion; *tosto vedremo cader quell' ordine dal quale dipende l'esercizio, la notitia, e'l mantenimento della Religione*. For no body would undergo the Clergy's single life and other fatigues of their Order, for pure love's sake towards God.

Reason XIV.

The Cardinals being deprived of these vast
 1. 23.c.11. Riches could not live, *non potrebbero vivere*.
 1. 12.c.13. *Cardinali, il Senato Romano rimarrebbe privo del vitto*: The Roman Senate would be deprived of lively-hood.

Reason XV.

Without these excessive Riches, the so glittering splendour of the Roman Court would be extinct; therefore the instructions of the French Ambassadour at the Council of Trent, containing Articles which tended to impoverish the Court of Rome, one sees cleerly that France by that its proposed

posed Reformation, went about to take away from the Court of Rome, its splendour and sovereign Authority, *i quali tutti si riducevano a torre al Pontefice la collazione de' benefici, la riserbazione delle pensioni, la riscossione degli emolumenti, ed in somma a levar lo splendore e l'imperio della Corte Romana.* l. 16. c. 10.

Reason XVI.

If the Riches of the Romish Prelates were not excessive, the Principality of the Apostolick See would fall to nought, *mancherebbe il principato Ecclesiastico che mantiene in unita, in regola, ed in decoro tutta la Chiesa.* l. 8. c. 17. And the Reason is, that the Roman Court is the most excellent School, wherein all men's Wits, who may be fit to rule in the Church ought to be refined, that they may be capable thereof, otherwise they would remain ignorants in Policy, *senza affinarsi in dottrina ed in senno nell' eccellente scuola della frequenza,* *Ibid.* like to your petty Bishops or Prelates, which are confined to scurvy little Places, and are obliged to stick to the exercises of their Proper Functions of the Altar, and the Quire, *confinarsi in piccioli luoghi all'esercizio privato dell'altare e del coro.* l. 17. c. 10. For unless the Courtiers of Rome, had hopes of great rewards, Rome would have no Courtiers for God's sake, *non rimanesse in piede una Reggia universale della Chiesa, i cui stanziati ed ufficiali potessero sperar gran premi.* *Ibid.*

Now

Now, if the *Roman Court* were no more in the bravery, and splendour, wherein now it is, and big through the concurrence of so many Barons, and Princes, which through their Birth or Dignity, are the Columns of the Church, and which are not come thus together to Court, but only out of hopes of great and mighty Riches, whereunto they aspire, what would become of the Church? The Court of such a Monarch is a most excellent Workhouse, where every thing that is an Artifice in the World, and the most cleaver shifts are woven and wrought dexterously, and by consequence one learns there more perfectly to know them and to ward them off with address, *Corte d'un Monarcha, ciò e una di quelle officine dove i più fini artificii si come perfettamente si lavorano, così sottilmente si riconoscono.* There it is that one may say humane understanding is perfected, and becomes refined to the supreme Degree in all the subtilties of Religious Policy, *raffinatissimo in tutte le sottilezze dell' umana politica.* If then the Church were deprived of her Universal Court, where the sleights of all other Courts might be as it were refined, what would become of her Unity, her splendour and all the Rules of her Discipline, wherein she is upheld by the *Roman Court*? What would become of this *Roman Court*, without vast Riches? Which as t'were by way of circulation, flow to her from all the parts of the Churches Body to be sent forth again from thence, and to carry life

l. i. c. 23.

Intr. c. 13.

life up and down? 'Tis evident then, that Riches are the blood of the Church, and that her Soul and life are in this blood. Wordly goods and pleasures are the best juice, which the *Roman* Court as a mystick Vine, sucks from all parts of the Universe, and by means whereof she keeps life, Unity, and vigour in all branches of the Church, that are planted and flourish all *Christendom* over. *l. 6. c. 7.*
*il miglior sugo ond' ella quasi mystica vite man-
 tien l' unita, e'l vigore ne' palmiti delle Chiese
 Christiane.* 'Tis by means of these Riches, that the Court of *Rome*, keeping it self up in reputation and authority, it gives Laws, and even Being to all the Body of the Church, *l. 16. c. 8.*
 whereof it is the Head, *corte Romana la quale
 è il capo che non solo da le leggi ma l'essere a
 questo corpo.*

Reason XVII.

In every natural Body, animate, and living, there must be two distinct sort of humours, one courser, as the blood, flegm, the two biles yellow and black: now in the Body of the Church, the Prelates be as these humours. The other humours are subtiler and are called Spirits, which are most purified, and the most active parts of the blood; these be the Instruments which serve the Soul to give the Body all its motion. The Monks and Religious Orders in the Church are as the Spirits: They live purified from all love, and esteem of things of the Earth, *dispreg- l. 8. c. 17.*
giatrici d' ogni cosa terrena.

These two sorts of humours in the Body
 are

are so necessary, the one to the other, that he that should go about to separate the Spirits from the grosser humours, and to keep nothing but pure Spirits, upon pretence that they be the purest, and contribute most to action, would quickly see those Spirits to fail and evaporate for lack of matter to vegetate them and feed them, *gli spiriti soli nell' animale fanno le funzioni vitali, adunque direbbe taluno, e che servono tanti umori più grossi? Servono a molto; senza questi non formerebbono e non si conserverebbero gli spiriti, così accade nel proposto nostro.*

l:9.c.9.

If you ask to what purpose then do Cardinals, Arch-Bishops, and Bishops and other Prelates, full of felicity according to the flesh, serve? You will be answered they are very useful, because without their carnal felicity, the Priests, which are bred up in the Seminaries, or in the Religious Orders, and which be in the state of perfection, would not be maintained, protected or directed as they be, and upheld by the Prelates, who govern the Church and who nevertheless cannot, or will not bring themselves to live like them, *in tal numero di sacerdoti perfetti si va formando nelle scuole o degli ordini religiosi o de' Seminarii chiericali, e questi non durerebbono al mondo, se non fossero alimentati da' Prelati che governano la chiesa, i quali non possono, o diciamo ancora, non vogliono ridursi a quel rigore di vita.*

Ibid.

Thus then, as there would be no Priests perfect in the World, if there were no

Rich

Rich Prelates able to maintain them, it is evident that the perfection of the Church, who is the Body of Jesus Christ, and his Holy, and altogether pure Spouse, is totally founded upon the vast Riches of the Roman Court; and upon those sweet, gentle, and yet efficacious means, which she is able to invent to heap them up.

After a Body hath well considered these two sort of Persons, which make up the Church, the Priests Spiritual, who are animated with zeal altogether pure, *di purissimo zelo*; l. 9. c. 9. and the Rich Prelates, who are carnal, and who would not serve God, if they were not very Rich; because they have no mind to strain up themselves unto the Priests perfection. One ought to conclude that these two parts of the Church have need one of the other,

In somma chi ben considera ogni parte di quella Ibid. *repubblica, l'una è bisognosa dell'altra.* And as it would be an Atheistical impiety; seeing the Body, even but of a fly, to maintain,

that all the parts which compose it came together after that fashion casually, or by chance; neither can it be any less but impiety, to have such like thoughts of the Body of the Church, *s'è impietà d'ateista il* Ibid. *tener che sia casuale il corpo naturale d'una mosca, non sarà il creder tale il corpo civile della chiesa?* So that 'tis clearly to be an

Atheist, to be persuaded, that the carnal felicity of the Court of Rome, is not conformable to the intention of God, or that 'twere better for the Church, to convert the chief
and

and best part of its vast riches, for relieving the poor and miserable, rather than before all things to found the felicity according to the flesh of the *Roman Court*.

Reason XVIII.

There is not seen in any part of the World, where ever it be, a Republick that keeps up the Nobility so flourishing, and in such great number as the Christian Republick, *nessun' altra republica come la Christiana conserva in tanto numero ed in tanto fiore la nobilita.*

l. l. c. 25.

ibid.

Nobility is the Nurse of civility, Honourableness, Vertue, and Wit, *che vuol dire la nutrice della creanza, dell' onorevolezza, della virtù, dell' ingegno.* How does the Church do to keep up her Noblemen thus fashion? Why here's the Secret, 'Tis by means of her Riches; because that having great Dignities and great Revenues to set before all Noblemen, who to have them will but keep themselves unmarried, she wins them after this manner, and they thereupon resolve to profess continence to possess what the Church proposes to them, *ciò avviene perche allettando nella Republica Christiana con le dignità e con l' entrate i nobili a professar Celibato.* Hence it comes to pass that the younger Nobility, have no need to share Estates with their elder Brothers. Inheritances by this means are kept from being dismembred without which the

the Rent charges upon the elder Brothers, would be intollerable, *succede che gli patri-
mozi delle famigli si mantengono uniti, la dove
per altro gli usi della primogenitura rinscirebbono
intolerabili.* Now would all these great
goods come to pass, if Church-means were
bestowed on the poor? Is it not plain
that this poliey is worthy of a God incar-
nate, and of the blood which he shed to
merit this carnal felicity for his Church, *il go-
verno disegnato da Christo, il thesoro della Chie-
sa essersi acquistato da Christo.* If the Church
were poor, should one see the flower of
the Nobility, of litterature and of Virtue,
consecrate themselves to the service of the
Altar, if the Pope had not such ample re-
wards to bestow. Would the Church be
honoured with that sovereign splendour,
which Noblemen bring her by serving her,
*di sì ampî guiderdoni che dispensa il Pontefice
risulta alla Religione quel sommo splendore, men-
tre il fiore della nobilit  della dottrina, della
virt , si concentra agli altari di Christo.* All
these Noblemen do not love God enough
to make themselves Churchmen *gratis*,
they bargain with God, and give them-
selves to him to have the glory, and car-
nal felicity of the Church, which could
never come to pass if the Church were
poor, *il che per l'umana debolezza non cos 
avverrebbe nella povert  della chiesa,* because
that this kind of trading in Religion seeks
perpetually its advantage, *questo mercato
della religione sempre opera   suo vantaggio.*

Ibid.

l. i. c. 25.

l. i. c. 9.

l. i. c. 25.

l. i. c. 25.

N

Reason

Reason XIX.

It was this kind of Government that Jesus Christ instructed to make his People recommendable upon Earth, and to make his Church lovely to all Nations, by these manifest Perogatives of carnal felicity, and of force, which do render her happy, civil, politick, vertuous, and formidable above any other Republick that is upon Earth. *Questo governo disegnato da Christo per segnalare in terra con manifesta perogativa il suo popolo, del qual governo la base, il legame, e l'intelligenza motrice è l'autorità del Pontefice.*

Now all the Authority of the sovereign Pontife, is founded upon the Veneration of People, *il loro potere quanto ad effetto è tutto appoggiato alla venerazione de' popoli.*

The Veneration of the People is upheld by Reason of the splendour of the Court of Rome. The splendour of the Court of Rome is maintained by the Riches, Honours, and carnal delights of its Cardinals and Prelates, so that all the Christian Religion does not subsist but upon this carnal felicity: It was to merit this, that the Word became flesh, and shed his blood, and to say the contrary is a piece of Atheism, *il tesoro della Chiesa essersi acquistato da Christo.*

Reason XX.

'Tis a pernicious Maxime for the Church to hold that the chief and better part of her Riches would be better employed on the necessities of the Poor, then to make the carnal felicity of Prelates, but 'tis the property of seditious tempers to scatter, that they may please the People, discourses marked with popular Zeal, *è proprio de' seditiosi sparger i concetti mascherati di zelo popolare accetto à poveri*; and that under pretence that our Lord did speak in favour of the Poor, and that even amongst the marks, which he gave to make it known, that he was the *Messias*, he bid them take notice, that he preached the Gospel to the Poor: For in fine, it hath been made out, that the poverty of the Church, and the destruction of the Church, are the same thing. And after nineteen Politick Reasons, which have made it appear, here's one more at least, to which there's no reply. l. 9. c. 9.

The Court of *Rome*, is the Soul which reunites all the Catholick Kingdoms, under one and the same Unity. Without Unity there's no Church. Then without the Court of *Rome*, both the Unity of the Church, and the Church it self are destroyed. Now without Courtiers, there's no Court, without wealth no Courtiers that will serve the Church for God's sake without wealth, then there's no Unity, nor no Church. Here's

l. 3. c. 10.

a Politick demonstration, that hath not all its like in all the Gospel! Here look ye is the foundation of this demonstration, that the Court of *Rome*, is the soul of the Church and of its Unity, *una corte laquale è quell' anima che tiene in unità tanti regni e costituisce un corpo politico il più formidabile, il più virtuoso, il più litterato, il più felice che sia in terra.*

That which hinders even the Peoples rebelling against Kings, and Conspiring against their persons, is the veneration which the People have for the Court of *Rome*, which is the prop of the power Monarchical.

l. 12. c. 3.

That which hinders Wars, either civil or foreign, is the multitude of Church-men, which be Gown-men, and for Peace: and that which makes the multitude of Church-men is the multitude of Benefices and good Revenues. Take away then from the Church its great Wealth, and all will be full of Wars and Conspiracies; as on the other hand, the power of Kings could not subsist with that insolence, wherewith it would let it self be transported, if it had not above it the power of the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, which makes a temperament so equal between all extremes, that if *Aristotle*, and *Plato* were living, they would be glad to yield themselves to the beautifulnes of this project of a Republick, and to confess that their Policy understood nothing herein. Such a design could not be moulded, but only by the eternal Wisdom,

dom and a light, whereunto humane sagacity could never arrive, *per che l'intelletto degli antichi savii ad assai più basse cose non giunse che non è l'economia della sapienza incarnata nell' istituzione della sua chiesa.* All which things being considered, the greatest Act of Christian Piety consists in defending this Politick government to the last drop of ones blood, aswel as all that which is necessary to the keeping it up, how opposite soever it seems to be to the Canons, and particularly to those of the Council of *Trent*; because that Council having submitted all to the Politick prudence of the Pope, not to obey the Ordinance of the Council, to the end to obey the Pope, is truly to follow the Council, and more perfectly to hit the meaning of the Council.

ARTICLE IV.

The most noble act of the Pope's Policy, is to enrich himself and the Roman Court. To dye for this Monarchy is the worthiest act of any Christian's zeal.

Riches then being the ground, whereupon the sovereignty of the Pope subsists, and the splendour of the *Roman Court*, and the carnal felicity of the Church; it is visible that the most noble act of the noblest of mortal Vertues, which is Policy, is to in-

inrich the Court of *Rome*, and to uphold with vigilance and stoutness, the sovereignty of the *Roman* Pontife, as it hath been represented, *il custodir con interpidetza e con vigilanza la sovranità del Pontificato è per mio avviso la più commendabile operatione che possa fare la politica virtù.*

'Tis true the worship of God is preferable before this Court; if one came in competition with the other. But after the worship of God, the most worthy act of a Pope's, zeal is the keeping up of his Monarchy, which cannot subsist but by wealth, *nessuna cura, toltane la propagazion del culto divino, è più degna e zelante in un Papa che il mantenimento illo so die questa Monarchia,* and to make it appear with what zeal, with what vigilance, and what stoutness one ought to uphold it, there is an example of it to be seen in the Person of *Alexander*, Nuncio of Pope *Leo X* at the Diet of *Worms*: Lo how he speaks, I am ready, quoth he, to burn alive to defend the adorable Diadem of my Prince, which they would take off from his head, *io mi confesso interessatissimo ed appassionatissimo nella causa dicui vi parlò, nella quale si tratta di mantene, l'adorato diadema in fronte al mio principe, e per laquale io anche secondo il privato affetto mi lascierei arder vivo se meco insieme dovesse arder il mostro della nascente eresia.* Look ye here what the sentiments and the words of all Christians ought to be. There remains no more, but to make known the means that this Policy suggests to the Court of *Rome*

Rome, for to uphold its stateliness, its splendour and bravery, and its carnal felicity, for he that wills the end wills the means necessary to the end, and on the other side not to love the means is to hate the end, *perche chi odia un fine odia specialmente* 1.8 c.17. *que' mezzi che sono più oportuni à tal fine.* For example, one of the most efficacious meanes to keep up the splendour of the Clergy's Royal Ecclesiastical Court, is the abundance of Benefices, and not to be obliged to reside upon them, *in verità fra i mezzi* *ibid.* *per conservar lo splendore dell' ordine clericale e d'una Reggia Ecclesiastica, un de' più efficaci è la copia di que' beneficii i quali non obligano à residenza.* There's no need then to wonder, why all the World cries out against this plurality of Benefices, 'tis because they do not love the *Roman* Court, whose splendour is the end for which these Benefices be instituted. When one hates the end it is not possible one should love the meanes which do lead to it.

On the contrary all right Christians that love the Court Royal Universal of the Church would burn a live in defence of the means, which she hath invented to uphold her self, how contrary soever they seem to Antiquity, or Canons of Council, or the private interest of petty Bishops; In fine to all which seems venerable; to certain Zealous ignorants in Policy, which is the Queen of moral vertues.

CHAP. V.

Here are related the Twelve ordinary means, inriching the Court of Rome, and maintaining the splendor thereof, according to the flesh, which is the act of all Religious Policy, the most pious, and the most important. The Twelfth and most efficacious of those means, to teach every where the Gospel according to the Flesh, and this Religious Policy according to the Doctrine of Aristotle, to whom the Church is beholden for many Articles of Faith; is to establish Colleges of Jesuites, with power to set up the Inquisition, and to be high Commissioners in that Holy Office; to make out process against all them who shall differ from the sentiments of that Philosopher. And that these Jesuites

suites shall have a general grant of all Privileges granted to the other Monastical Orders; although St. Bernard hath blamed those privileges; for on the other hand they be approved by Nicholas Machiavel.

ARTICLE I.

The first means of enriching the Court of Rome, are the Annates, which be a sort of yearly Tythes, or Pensions. A curious distinction about Simony.

TWO things saith our Cardinal do make the soveraign Power of the Pope ardently desirable, The great Wealth whereof he is Master, and The great many means, which he hath to oblige men, *due beni percui soli appar desiderabile, il principato dell' oro dell' obbligo.* 1.4.c.9. The Policy of the Roman Court to uphold it self in this possession uses the following means to enrich it self. The first is the Annates or Yearly Pensions, that the Clergy pay to the Pope; but to judge well of the Justice by which they as well as the other means which follow are established, 'tis good we remember the Rule of Pope Paul IV, who to guide his Wisdom had only but this, *viz.* To use his Spiritual power in

- in its full extent, *s' avvisò che tutta l'ampiezza dello spiritual suo potere fosse anche la misura di saggiamente esercitarlo.* That is to say, That all that a Pope does is done wisely: whosoever hath but any insight into public-like affairs, quoth our Cardinal, knows that the government of this is famous, for having been the excellent Model of a rare Pontifical
- 1.3.c.17. *prudence, chiunque ha tintura d'affari publici sà ch'il suo governo riman famoso per idea di pontificia prudenza.* So that the means to get Rich or Great, which have no other Principle, other Reason, nor other measure, but the all-Puissantness of the Pope, be those which come the neereſt to this excellent Idea of the Pontifical Government, and curious fine and neat Policy, *ſina prudenza.* The Annates or Yearly Pensions are one of these means found in this all-Puissantness, so do they suffice without other Proof to make it appear that the Pope is the sole Patriarch of the West, because all the Western
- 1.13.c.10. Churches pay them and to him only, *anzi ricevendo di fatto il Papa da' ſoli Occidentali bastarrebbe à giustificare eziandio il ſolo Patriarcato dell' Occidente.* Besides the Pope hath right to receive Annates or yearly Pensions of all the Churches of Christendom as taken instead of Tenths or Tythes, due by the
- 1.14.c.9. Bishops and lesser Ecclesiasticks to the ſoveraign Pontife, *ſi riſcuotono da' beneficii di tutto la Chriſtianità in luogo di decime dovute per ſoſtentazione del ſomma ſacerdote dagli altri minori Eccleſiaſtici.* For the ſoveraign Pontife, for the good of Christendom, ought to keep

keep up his Court full of Nobility. *Il quale per bene del Christianesimo dee mantener le sua Corte di molti ufficiali Nobili*, besides so many other expences which he is obliged to make, as hath been shewed.

It might seem Simony to give mony for the Bulls to a Benefice, but the Pope does not receive Annates or yearly Pensions, but only for a temporal thing which is linked to a Spiritual Grace. Now what hurt is it that the suiter who obtains a fat temporality, should give a small part thereof to him which grants it? On the contrary is there any thing more reasonable then this? *Qual cosa più ragionevole e più consueta e più soave, che si contribuisca qualche rigaglia al conceditore dall'impetratore del luogo, all'oro che questoriceve la nuova grazia, perciò che in un tale acquisto non gli è grave quella piccoila spesa.* 1.19 c.9.

Indeed if the Pope gave nothing but Spiritual as the Bishops do when they give Orders, one might finde more appearance of Simony for such a grace, *per le ordinazione le quali danno unagrazia meramente spirituale era convenevole qual si fosse temporal pagamento, e pero santamente constituirono i Padri Tridentini, che i vescovi nulla prendessero.* *Ibid.* 'Tis manifest then according to humane equity that the Tax or Impost of Annates, or Yearly Pensions is just, *stabilitasi l'equità secondo l'umano discorso.* *Ibid.* Now it is another Principle, that when the humane equity of a business is once famed to be settled, divine equity as hath been shewen, willeth that the Pope should guide the Church

Church according to Natural inclinations : So that there can be no divine Reason to forbid what humane equity permits, no more than that which is permitted by the Doctrine of *Aristotle* and forbidden by any other; but to comprehend yet more neatly, in what that which is called Simony consists it must be known, that when the Pope takes Money for granting Spiritual Graces, which serve for example unto the Peoples Salvation, this is no Simony to give it unto him the Pope grants it, *in primo del denaro donato à Dio.* But if the Pope gave Money, or relinquished his temporal interests to win People to their Salvation, this would be Simony in him, thus to buy with Money the Peoples Salvation, and in the People to consent to their Salvation, which is spiritual, to get the Popes Money, or any other temporal benefit, *far una specie di Simonia vendendo al Papa la ricuperazione dell' anime à prezzo d' entrate e di giuridizioni ritolte della chiesa.* Temporal revenues and other rights annexed to the Authority not only of the Pope, but of other Ecclesiasticks, are the best Juice and the most pure to nourish up the Church, *miglior sugo*: This Authority to suck and drain this Juice from all parts of the Univers is of divine Institution. Jesus Christ hath instituted this power, when he came down upon Earth for the Salvation of the World, *ufficio istituito da Dio quando scese in terra per la salute del mondo.* So that Jesus Christ hath given power to the Pope,

to

1.1.c.2.

1.2.c.10.

1.2.c.10.

& 1.6.c.7.

1.2.c.10.

to take Money, and Milk the People for the Salvation of the World, but not to the People to suck the Popes Temporalities for their Salvation, nor to the Pope to give them his Temporalities for to save them. This would be the utmost Simony, the first is none. Mark ye here how important it is to know well the Rules of right Policy, and how far the Pope's power reaches, for he can do all except relinquishing the least part of his power for the sake of Peoples Salvation, because he is but the Guardian of his all-puissantness, and *l. 12. c. 15.* not the master, *non essendo egli abitro e padrone della sua maggioranza cedita da Christo, & pero non potendo farle alcun pregiudicio.*

The second and third means are Pensions, and Commendams, the Residence of the Commendaries suplied by the good turns of the New Monastical Orders.

Their end who attact Pensions and Commendams is to suppress all benefices that are exempt from residence and by stronger Reason Pensions, *sine sarebbe ill torre affatto ogni Beneficio non allaciato à residenza, emolto più le pensioni.* *l. 17. c. 10.* This would be to ruine in the Church the Universal Court Royal, whose Courtiers could no longer hope for great recompences, and they would be obliged to confine themselves to scurvy little places, and be reduced to the poor functions of the Altar, and the Quire. In the mean time without Pensions, *senza il sussidio delle Pensioni,* *ibid.*

- soni, the Cardinals could not live; i Cardinali non pottrebbono vivere.* Without Abbeyes and Commendams, they would not have bread, *Senato di Roma privo di quelle badie rimanerebbe privo del vittio.* So that it is evident that the Institution of Pensions cannot be but good, for if this Institution had not been, how many Noblemen which do not make themselves Ecclesiasticks for God's sake, would there have been retained in the service of the Church? *Harrebberitenuti molti nobili dalla vita Ecclesiastica.* 'Tis true all these Noble men do not reside, and 'tis manifest that non-residence is a great evil. But since this evil begun, let a man consider the swarm of those of the Monastical Orders which God hath sent to labour about the Salvation of Souls, and then see if there be any comparison between the good which they do, and what one of these non-resident Noblemen would do, if he should keep resident, *fatto paragone all' opera di ciascun residente la quale per una tal mala esecuzione sia si tolta al coltivamento dell' anime, Iddio ha restituito centinaia di Regolari che abbondano in ogni loco.* And without doubt we shall see that the Church profits by Pensions in every respect, both according to the flesh, and according to the Spirit.
- 1.23.c.11. *1.12.c.13.*
- 1.23.c.3. & 11.
- 1.9.c.9.

The fourth and fifth means. Plurality of Benefices, and the absolute disposal of those Benefices.

The disposal of a many Benefices all Christen.

stendomeoverbeing a great means forthePope to do good is one of the things whereupon the Apostolical principality moves, *la disposizione di molti Beneficii in varie parti del Christianesimo, e pur la facoltà di benefacere è un de' due Cardini sopra cui sostienfi la venerazione, ch'è la base del loro imperio.* Intr. c. 6.

This power of conferring Benefices being formerly more extended over more Nations then it is, drew then to the Court of the King of Kings, a world of strangers which posted thither from all Quarters to be known, and to get Benefices; *quella frequenza che le portava il concorso di tanti stranieri Ecclesiastici i quali doveffero farsi quivi conoscere per ottenere i Beneficii.* l. 23. c. 3.

The Zealous will say that a man is unworthy, that thus crouds in for himself, but these be Ideas which were good in the time of the Churches Infancy, *nell' infanzia della Chiesa;* They will say that these be worldly, and humane considerations for Popes to act by, *il risguardo eziando dell' interesse umano:* But is not the humane felicity of the Court of Rome of divine Institution, and will not God have his Church governed according to humane inclinations? This is all can be said for Plurality of Benefices, for to look only upon the divine institution, and setting aside humane interest, this is a business able to confound Ecclesiastick Order, to give to one alone the duties and functions, which cannot be discharged but by diverse. *Ecclesiasticus ordo pervertitur.* Sess. 24. c. 17. Sess.

1.23.c.II.

Sess. 14. c. 9. *Cont. Trid.* Which made the Council condemn this plurality, herein the Fathers of the Council are not quite to blame, *ne per tutto ciò si vogliono biasimare i Padri Tridentini.* But this kind of Reasoning though Natural and Divine ought to give place according to Religious Policy, to the interest of the humane felicity of the Court of *Rome*, which can't subsist without this Plurality, and the Church must be guided not according as God willeth, but according as corrupt Nature desireth, as it hath been shown: Likewise the Fathers of the Council have declared that they do not mean to tie up the Popes hands, and though they would have pretended to it, 'tis Policy, that there should be an head in the Church, that may dispence with Canons and even derogate from them, as hath been shewed before, and that there be a Head whose all-puissantness may be the Rule of Wisdom, according to *Paul* the Fourth's Maxime whose Government was the Sampler of Pontifical prudence, and who upon that account was chosen Pope, by an unanimous Election, which could never have come to pass, if a Pope so Elected, had not been of eminent Vertues, *il che non può conseguirsi senza un eminente virtù.*

1.36.17.

The sixth and seventh Means. The calling back of greater Causes, and the reservation of Cases.

Four Reasons make Popes to reserve certain Cases to themselves, and to retain the greater Causes: The First is ignorance of Bishops, whether it be about regulation of the Conclave for the election of a Pope, in very deed it was not left to the Council of Trent to deliberate thereof, *perche ne' l. 22. c. 7. Vescovi non era veruna perizia di tal facenda*; because the Bishops were ignorant of those kind of matters; or whether it be about Reformation of the Cardinals, the Legats in Council found that business was a Gulph where the Bishops would have been lost, having no skill in those affairs, *parue à Legati che ciò sarebbe stato entrare l. 23. c. 7. in un nuovo e vasto pelago del quale Pochissimi de' Padri haveano perizia.*

The Second Reason is, That whatever skill the Bishops may have, they are not refined for the practice of the Court of Rome, as hath been seen here before.

The Third is, That being Secular Princes Subjects they are liable to act out of fear, hope, or other humane Considerations, as was observed.

The Fourth is, to make the Sovereign Power of the Pope over Bishops be acknowledged; from hence 'tis that the

O

Popes

Popes limit even the Bishops Power, that in such certain Cases falling within their Dioces, they shall not proceed, but they are referred to the Pope, *ed usano di limitar aneche à Vescovi la libertà di riservare.*

L. 12. c. 11.

As to greater Causes they do not leave them to the Cognizance of Bishops, being they are smaller Prelates, to whom they only leave smaller Causes, which would be too troublefom for Suiters to go to Rome about; but of all that be of importance the Popes reserve to themselves the Cognizance, because Justice cannot be better administered than by the Sovereign Power.

L. 23. c. 13. *la giustizia non può universalmente procedere, e con vigore e con sincerità se non dove sia tal preeminenzia di stato nel superiore sopra à suddito, che nel primo non possa cader nè timore nè competenza;* even so much as for nominating Parish Priests to Parishes, the Bishops are bound to follow the Counfel of Examiners appointed, or agreed on by a Synod of their Clergy, as hath been shewn before.

L. 23. c. 13.

The Eighth Means. Frequent Jubilees, and Indulgences.

The Council of Trent desires that the usage of Indulgences may be reformed by those ancient and rigorous rules made about that matter, *Che si tornasse all' antica severità.* But 'tis not to be understood that

L. 24. c. 12.

that one should quite return to that ancient severity; *non volle significare che vi si ritornasse in tutto*; but that herein one should use prudence according to time and places, *fin à quel segno che la condizione de tempi è de luoghi consigliava*, which depends on the Pope's prudence, that is to say, That the account upon which the Pope grants it be such, that the Pope in granting it commits no imprudence, and yet that the reason therefore in it self appear little considerable. As for Example, When the Pope grants a full Indulgence to him that shall visit St. Peter's Church, or stay to take the Pope's Blessing in a publick place; the Cause in it self does not appear so great that it should merit Indulgence or a Pardon; but in the same thing we must distinguish, what that thing is in it self, and what it is as to its End, for to attend, for Example, the Pope's Blessing in a Publick place is not an Act that appears in it self important, but yet 'tis very much so, when it is considered as to its end: which is thereby to make publick profession of Belief of the Unity of the Church, and the Worship which is due to the Sovereign Pontifice, as Vicar of Jesus Christ, *far l. 2. c. 4. co'tali opere che sia una professione universale esibita da Christiani sopra l'unita della chiesa è sopra il culto che rendono al Romano Pontefice come Vicario di Christo.* So that to make profession of this Worship is, an act that's worth as much as all the ancient se-

verity of Canonical Penances; and this is the sense that one should understand the *Council of Trent* in, when it desires that the ancient simplicity should be returned unto; wherefore the least actions being capable to be thus exalted through their End, though it were only to manifest the all-puissantness of the Pope, it would bee rash, if from the small Importance which is found in those actions, one should conclude therefrom a nullity in the grant of Indulgences, *saremo temerarii se della tenuita delle azioni conchiuderemo la nullità delle concessioni.*

l. 2. c. 4.

Adde to this the vast profit which comes in to the Pope from these Indulgences. As in Pope *Leo* the tenth's Time, who granted them (when *Luther* Preached against them) to help build *St. Peter's* Church, for he wanted for that a vast summe of money, *richiedendosi al' opera denaro immenso.* Wherefore he had recourse to this efficacious remedy of Universal Indulgences, adding Liberty also to it to eat Cheese and Milk on Fasting-days, and to chuse what Confessour one listed.

l. 1. c. 2.

This was in truth a great scandal to Christendom to see the Revenue of these Indulgences let out to him, that would give most, as temporal Princes do farm out Imposts; but it is certain also, as Princes would get little by their taxes, if they were to leavy them themselves, by their own immediate Officers, so the Pope would get as 'twere nothing by Indulgences if he did not

not find people to farm them at a Rate and Price, *qual Principe non è costretto ad usar l. i. c. 3. il medesimo in tutte le Gabelle che impone.*

Its further true, that those Indulgences which were leavied upon the people to build St. Peter's Church, a material Temple, have been the cause of the ruine of a great part of the Churches Spiritual Temple, *quel edificio materiale di San' Pietro rovino in gran parte il suo edificio spirituale*; because that for leavying so many Millions, which the vast work of that admirable Church was to take up, the Pope was constrained to publish those Indulgences, whereof Luther's Heresy took beginning, which hath impoverished the Church a many more Millions of Souls that are seperated from her Communion, *percioche affin d'adunare tanti milioni l. i. c. i. quanti ne assorbiva l'immenso lavoro di quella chiesa, convenne far ciò d'onde prese origine l'eresia di Luthero, che à impoverita di molti più milioni d'anime la chiesa.*

But yet this hinders not, but the building of that material Temple, which is the first Temple of the World, and which draws the greatest veneration to the Pope, was a very sufficient cause for granting those Indulgences; because that which is most important in the Church after the Worship of God, is the Worship of the Pope, and it would be Simony in the Pope to relinquish his Rights under pretence of buying thereby the salvation of Souls.

The ninth Means. Dispensations
granted for money.

l. 16. c. 17. It is necessary in every Principality well regulated to draw forth some Imposition from the Graces which the Prince accordeth, *essendo necessario in ogni Principato le imposizioni sopra le grazie.* 'Tis also one of the sources which nourishes the abundance and lustre of the Court of Rome, and keeps up at the same time the All-puissantness of the Pope who grants the Dispensations both with, and without Cause. This money, which comes thereof in great quantity to the Coffers of his Holiness, is an All-puissantlike means to uphold his grandeur, *Omnipotenza del oro.* For as our Cardinal saith, Money is all things in vertue and in power; *pecunia è ogni cosa virtualmente*; and he that hath Money hath all, and may do all with an efficacious Power. By granting Dispensations and Graces for money, the Pope doth thereby punish those who sue them out, and this is an industrious and new means to keep up, as one may say, Discipline and the Canons, by breaking them.

If the Bishops take Money for Dispensations they be null, quoth the Council of Trent, but when 'tis the Pope that grants them for Money they be good, and which is most admirable that even they would be

be null if he did not take money; because they would be given without any cause, as hath been observed: for the money which the Pope takes for them is the great Consideration and a good cause why he grants them, so that there are few things forbidden which the interest of establishing the All puissantness of the Pope to enrich and keep up the splendour of his Court, doe not make lawful. For this purpose he is not only permitted to take money for dispensations, but to derogate from the Laws of Councils, that he may fulfill them in a more perfect manner, since this is to exercise his all-puissantness, which after God is the principal end whereunto all Councils ought to have regard.

The tenth Means.

Experience teaches every Superiour, that his faithfullest and most obedient Subjects be those which doe immediately subject themselves to his grandure and to his power without any semblance of going Cheek by Jole with him, *l'Esperienza dimostra ad ogni superiore che i sudditi più sicuri e più ossequiosi, sono i sudditi immediati non grandi:* Hereupon 'tis that the Pope's interest is grounded, when he exempts Chapters in Bishopricks to depend upon him and ~~be~~ *to* be independant from their Bishops: therefore the instances that the Bishops made at the Council of Trent, To have their Chap-

l. 8. c. 17.

ters again under their yoke, was prejudicial to the Apostolick See, *prejudiciale alla sede Apostolica*. Besides the Bishops being, as we said before, Ignorants in policy, seditious, interessed, timorous and subject to temporal powers, they are facil and ready to fall into heresy which the Chapters are not: To this the Council of Trent had respect, as to Germany, where a many Bishops fell into heresy, which no Chapter was found to doe,

l. 23. c. 3.

ponendo in Considerazione quei di Germania, dove avevano mancato molti vescovi mà niun Capitolo. And as for those of France, the Cardinal of Lorrain told it out that there were heretick Bishops who forbid Ca-

ibid.

tholick Preachers to preach, *riferi che alcuni vescovi eretici in Francia havean vietato il predicare á Catolici*: Whereupon he went on and said that in case the objection of Prebendaries were to be made according to the Canons, that the Bishops should doe nothing therein without the consent of their Prebendaries, *piacerli che i Vescovi nulla potesser fare senza i Capitoli quando i Canonici s'eleggessero come si doveva di ragione*.

ibid.

In the four and thirty Articles of reformation, which the Ambassadour of France brought to the Council, The seaven and twentieth ran, that the Bishops be obliged according to the Canons to treat of all the affaires of their Diocesess according to the advice of their Prebendaries, and for that reason, the Prebendaries be obliged to reside

con-

Continually at their Cathedrall, *dovendo i l. 19. c. 11. i Vescovi secundo i Canon i trattare i negozii col parere del Capitolo, si procurasse che i Canonici fossero assidui alle Catedrali.*

Because that being exempt from the jurisdiction of their Bishops and governing the Dioceses with them, their exemption was a bridle which the Pope put upon the Bishops, very fit to keep them from prevaricating, whether in regard of faith or of government, *anzi l' esenzione de Capitoli se riconosceva per un gran freno in bocca à Vescovi di non prevaricare ò nella fede ò nel governo.* l. 23. c. 3.

This makes the infinite difference to be seen between Episcopacy in the Pope, and that which is by participation in the Bishops. For, I. The Pope is not subject to Ignorances nor heresies as the Bishops are. II. He is not bound to follow the Counsel of his Cardinals, because he is King of the Church and the Bishops are not Kings of their Chapters, no more then of their Dioceses. III. No body can be exempt from the Jurisdiction of the Pope, and there's no need, they should, as there's need Prebendaries should be exempt from the jurisdiction of their Bishops; that the Bishops may be thereby bridled; and though there were no other reason for exemption of Chapters, but to show the Popes Royal Sovereignty, which is the foundation of the Church: for it appears that it is a most puissant means to establish the Popes power and

The New Politick Lights of
and the gallantry and riches of the Roman Court.

*The eleventh Means. Privileging the
Monastical Orders.*

One of the Principal advantages which comes to the Church by the exemption of the Regulars is maintaining the authority of the Apostolick See, according to the institution of Jesus Christ and the general good of the Church, *jo non nego che un de profitti che arreca l'Exenzione de Regolari degli Ordinarii sia il mantener l'autorità della sede Apostolica secondo l'istituzione di Christo e'l ben della chiesa.*

L.12.c.13. Because we see that all Monarchical Government for the keeping up it self without suffering diminution, had need to have in every Province some powerful Body of Subjects independant from those, who be the ordinary and perpetual Superiours or Magistrates there, *veggendo noi che ogni governo Monarchico per conservarsi illeso ha bisogno d'haver in qualunque provincia qualche nervo prevalente de sudditi indipendenti da chi è quivi superiore immediato e perpetuo.*

ibid. Yet as mens opinions be divers, these privileges to the Monastical Orders, which make the force of the Church and the principal sinew of the Pope's Power, did not quite please St. Bernard, *questa ragione però, come son' varie le opinioni degli huomini non sodisfece*

L.8.c.17.

sodisfece pienamente à San' Bernardo, because he feared that the desire of exemption came from some hidden sentiment of Pride, il l.8 c.17. quale dubito che il desiderio d'esenzione dal proprio Vescovo potesse nascere da occulto Spirito superbia. But on the other side *Nicholas Machiavel* remains agreed of the profitability of these Exemptions, and that t'was in them that the Prophecy was fulfilled which said that the Monks should uphold the Church of St. John of Lateran ready to fall, that is to say the whole Church, *non in altro modo i predetti ordini sarebbon valuti à sostentar la crollante basilica di Laterano, cioè la Chiesa Catolica, profezia auverata per confessione dello stesso Nicolo Machiavelli.*

Here's then the advantage of the Politick conduct of every well-govern'd Monarchy, to have certain persons in places distant from the Sovereign, which have power without limits, as for example the Romans gave it to their Generals, *percio che ad im-* *ibid.*
prese grandi e in regioni lontane dal supremo, richiedesi autorità illimitata ed indipendente quale usarone di dare i Romani à lor condottori.

All the religious Orders are every man as it were so many Generals of the Popes Army throughout the Earth, and as so many Roman Chieftains, who living above an humane life would not uphold such a Monarchy as the Pope's if it were tyrannical: which makes it appear that this same Monarchical

narchical all-puissantness of the Pope is of Jesus Christ's institution.

But that wherein the religious Orders serves yet further to advance the splendour of the Court of Rome, is ; that making profession of single Life they quit their paternal Estates to their brethren and Kinsfolk, *una utilità delle grandi che riceve la Repubblica per la felicità civile dell' istituti Religiosi*: their kindred becoming rich, by that means they become the Pillars of the Temple and the Columns of the Church, *che per altezza de sangue sono i Pilastri del tempio. Il chiericato mantien la ricchezza e'l decoro delle stirpi e per conseguente la nobilità è gli spiriti d'onore.* One's piety makes t'other get a great Estate, hence comes forth Abbeys which are afterwards put in Commendams, and they become great Benefices, whose revenues stream forth even to Rome to be digested in the stomach of St. Peter.

And thus it is that all the members of the Church serve to enrich the Court of Rome, and to uphold its bravery; thus it is that that Court is the Churches soul, and its moving intelligence.

The twelfth Means. The establishment of Colleges of Jesuits, and of the Holy Inquisition.

It hath been seen that Policy is the prime and most excellent vertue of all the moral vertues, because her Object is the happiness of the Common-wealth, not onely according to the spirit but according to the flesh, *secondo la carne*. Now the corruption of the greatest Good produces the greatest Evil, *il pessimo esser suol una corruzione de l'ot* l. 17. c. 2. & timo; It follows then that the greatest of all l. 1. 13. the Churches Evils, is Ignorance of Policy.

It hath been seen that private Bishops doe not skill this excellent vertue, because the excellent school where this Science is learned, is the Roman Court, where a man is refined in this virtue.

That's the shop or workhouse where all the sleights of Policy are learnt, and where cunning prudence may be gotten and subtlety of Wit, *astile ingegno fina prudenza*. l. 13. c. 10. The privy Counsellours of temporal Princes Courts are enough refined in temporal affaires, but commonly they do not know what Religion is, nor what is the onely Base which upholds it, and renders it immovable, *huomini di stato i quali spesso non* l. 16. c. 10. *ben intendono che cosa sia la Religione e qual sia l'unica Base che possa mantenerla non vacillante*, that is to say, to speak fine and plain,
They

They do not know the mystery, nor the Extent of the Pope's onely universal Monarchy, whereof all Kings are subjects, and all Catholick Kingdoms the demean lands, with an all-puissantness to dispose of all things *etiam sine causa*, as it hath been explained. It was upon the principles of this Ignorance, that the intructions of *Monfr. de Lansae* the French Ambassadour at the Council of Trent, were framed; these instructions were composed of four and thirty Articles all opposite to that which makes for the Popes Royalty in the Church, and his absolute Empire over the whole Universe, and which in conclusion tended to throw down the Roman Court, both splendour and Empire thereof, *tutte contrarie al Pontefice ò più tosto al Pontificato e contenute nella sua isfruzione i quali tutti si riducevano à levar lo splendore e l'imperio della Corte Romana.* What specifick remedy for such a disease? doubtless there could not be a better then for all Bishops, yea even for Parish Priests to be educated and refined in the excellent school of the Court of Rome. But that is not done, in default thereof it could be wished that at least all the Heads of Houses in Univerities had studyed there, but that's against their Statutes.

L16.c.10.

In fine, what then is the last Expedient, but that all not being able to goe to Rome to take in the Politick spirit there, Means should be found out to make it come from Rome and disperse it over the world.

'Twas

'Twas said 100 years agoe that the *Holy Ghost* was brought from Rome to the Council of Trent in a Clokebag, *la Spirito Sancto veniva portato nella valigia*. This proposition appeared injurious to the Holy Ghost, to the Pope and to the Council; yet our Cardinal *Historian* expounds it learnedly and makes it out, how it is conformable even to the Doctrine of *S. Augustin*; and that Pope *Innocent X*, in effect to condemn *Jansenius*, thought it not unfit to order the exterior light of the Holy Ghost to be brought in a Clokebag to Rome from all Quarters of the Church, which he consulted. *Leo X* did the same when he condemned the heresy of *Luther*, *non hanno s' degnato di procacciar l' esterna luce dello Spirito Sancto à se stessi per le vaglie de' corrieri avanci di condannar le opinioni è di Lutero, e di Jansenio*. Now the exterior light is alwaies accompanied with the interior, which is the Soul thereof, and which is that wick is called sufficient Grace to know the Truth and to follow it, which is not wanting to any one. So that which is called sufficient grace, to condemn *Jansenius* was brought in some sort in a Clokebag to Pope *Innocent X*; as one may say that the Horse that carries the Body of a living man carries also his Soul; otherwise sufficient grace might fail those which doe all their endeavour to know the Truth, and condemn Heresy and they would condemn it blindfold, *alla cieca* as our Cardinal *Ibid.* speaks.

There

l. 16. c. 10.

There be none then but *Ideots* which will let themselves be scared with this Vizard of a Proverb, that the Holy Ghost was carried in a Clokebag, for there's nothing more exactly true according to School Divinity; and look you now the Vizard is for ever taking off which Scared *Ideots*, *Ecco dilegnate quelle vanissime larve disconcia apparenza che agli occhi degli Idioti potea recar una cal forma di proverbare lo Spirito Sancto veniva portato nella valigia.*

It being thus, may not one say that the most puissant and yet the most sweet and gentle means to uphold the Universal Monarchy, the Royalty and absolute Empire of the Pope over all the World, which is the Fundamental Point of all the Christian Policy is to make come from *Rome* in a Cloakbag the spirit of this Policy into all Quarters of the World. There remains onely the naming and chusing of the Couriers to goe along with the Males or Clokebags.

1. The Religious, whose Generals reside not at *Rome*, are not fit for it.

2. The Religious, which doe not teach youth, are unfit for it too, for this Spirit must begin to be administred in tender years.

3. There's none but the *Jesuites*, to whom this Employ can reasonably be given:

For 1. If to this end there need no more but to be Masters in this Policy by our Cardinal Historians Example, who is of their Society, it appears that they talk as if they were the Authors thereof.

1. If

2. If for it there needs zeal for the Holy See, there's no body able to dispute with them that their advantage, for all this Father *Jesuite* and Cardinal's book is full of protestations upon that Subject.

3. If there onely needs testimonials of *Nuncio's* and *Ambassadours*, see those of the *Nuncio Commendon* and of the *Comte of Lune*, related by this our Cardinal, *io per l. 20. c. 4. certo non hò ritrovato nelle chiese di Germania & 11. più fermo ne maggior presidio della religione l. 15. c. 7. che i Collegii di costoro; così piacesse à Dio che se ne fossero molti. Onde non è dubbio che quando si l. 20. c. 4. facessero molti collegii se ne caverebbe fructo incredibile.*

But above all, the Testimony of Pope *Pius IV.* and that of *S. Charles Borromeo* are of extreme advantage for them. They are related by this Cardinal in his *XXIV Book*, chapter 6, where their Society is called Religion it self and their institution Pious; *Keligione, e l'istituto pio.*

Now their institution is particularly destinated by their founder *St. Ignatius* to serve in the *Missions*, *istituita per fine speciale delle Missioni*, and 'tis for this same subject that they have shunned giving to themselves any of the names, which the other *Monastick* orderstake, as *Father Guardians, Correçours, Wardens, Discrets* and even shunning the names of *Covents, Dortoirs, Chapters*, yea and even the habits themselves, though venerable elsewhere, because those other sorts of habits were not very commodious to car-

- l. 4. c. 11. ry the Cloakbag in the *Missions*, *hebbeſi riſguardo d'aſtenerſi dalle appellazioni e delle veſti di frate benchè per altro venerabili e Sacroſante.*

So that tis manifeſt that there's nothing more important for the felicity of the Pope and the Roman Court according to the fleſh, *ſecundo la carne* then the eſtabliſhment of *Jefuites* the World throughout, giving them power to ſet up every where the Sacred Tribunal of the Inquiſition, for ſetting up whereof Pope *Pius IV* hath merited, quoth our Cardinal, a Praise which will be Eternal, *d'eterna lode lo fà degno, il tribunal dell'inquiſizione che dal zelo di lui riconoſce il preſente ſuo vigor nel l'Italia, e dal quale l'Italia riconoſce la conſervata Integrità della ſua fede.* Becauſe it is to the Inquiſition, according to our Cardinal, that *Italy* and *Spain* are indebted for retaining the Faith among them, as to thoſe Articles thereof which have no nearer nor immediater certainty then onely the Popes authority, *quella religione, i cui articoli unitamente conſiderati non hanno altra certezza proſſima ed immediata che l'autorità del Pontefice.*

l. 14. c. 9.

l. 3. c. 15.

C H A P. VI.

Here be related the Interests and different sentiments of the Catholick Christian Crowns and Republicks, according as they are more less favourable to this same Religious Policy according to the flesh. And tis made appear that there's none more opposite then those of the Crown and of the Church of France, which proposed no less at the Council of Trent, then to throw down the Churches Monarchy and Empire, and to take away the Splendour of the Court of Rome.

ARTICLE I.

The Estates, whose Politick Maxims are favourable or opposite to this same Roman Policy.

OF all the Parts of *Europe*, which have remained in the Popes Communion, there appears none more considerable then *Italy, Germany, Spain* and *France*. To know which are the States whose Politick maxims are more or less favourable to the Roman Policy, there needs no more but to represent the Interests and the Sentiments of these States which take up those parts of *Europe*.

ARTI-

ARTICLE II.

The Italian Policy favours that of the Court of Rome.

ACcording to the Testimony of our Cardinal Lib. 21. Chapter 4. the *Italian Bishop* had no other end in the *Council of Trent* but the upholding and aggrandizing of the Apostolick See, *non mirava ad altro oggetto che al sostentamento ed alla grandezza della sede Apostolica*, and therein they thought they did the duty of good *Christians* and *Italians* at once, *e pero ch' essi in tal opera facesser ad un ora le parti di buoni Italiani ed i buoni Christiani*. Because 'twas the honour and the advantage of their Country to be the abode and ordinary residing Place of the King of Kings, and of the Lord of all the Lords of the Earth.

ARTICLE III.

The Spaniards are not favourable to the Cardinals, nor other Officers of the Roman Court.

THE Spanish Bishops being for the most part great Lords & very considerable either for the great Extent of their Dioceses, or by reason of their great revenues through their high birth and illustrious families, or through their great learning, hardly could endure the pre-eminence of the Cardinals, and above all few of those Bishops could ever hope to arrive at that dignity, and it was no lesse unsufferable to them to see themselves subjected so much as they are to the Pope's Officers, and be Dependants of the Roman Tribunals; wherefore they thought it would be exceeding good for the Church to bring back the Cardinals to their first rank and to restore those rights to the Bishops, which they enjoyed anciently; and for this purpose they had a mind to disable the Cardinals to possesse Bishopricks, and oblige them to reside at *Rome*, and rule the parishes whereof they are the Titulary Parsons or Priests, and withall they would have taken away dispensations, whereby persons or causes are exempted

exempted from the Bishops Jurisdiction, and thereby make the Bishops in their Dioceses as so many Popes, *onde fosserò à guisa di Papa nelle loco Diocesi*, which would have much diminished the splendour of the Roman Court and sapped the foundation of the Church.

ARTICLE - IV.

The Policy of France quite and clean opposite to the Roman Court.

AS for the *French* Bishops they have less of jurisdiction, because the Usages of that Kingdom look most at enlarging the temporal power, and this also causes that they are less incommoded with the Roman Tribunals, and don't complaine so much of wrong that the Scarlet does to the Mitre; but all their thoughts tend to set bounds unto the Pope's Monarchy according to the sentiments of the late Council of Basil approved by them, *erano rivolti à moderar la l. 21. c. 4. Monarchia del Pontefice secondo in sensi del moderno Concilio di Basilea da loco approvato.*

Germany is so canton'd out that tis difficult to mark the point wherein those people may be said to accord: some of them are of the

the Italian minde, others of the Spanish, others of the French. As for the several Princes they are each of the several minde as his Bishop is; *i Principi almeno i loco politici, chi più chi meno inclinavano à sodisfare i Prelati di loro Natione*, because that the preferring of their Bishops, who remaine still their Subjects, gives them lesser jealousy, then the Pope's grandeur and power. They were brought over to this in the time of the *Council of Trent* by the abuses which they saw in the Roman Court.

- Christian Policy hath then its choice betwixt that of *France* and that of *Spain*, which of the two may be the most favourable to the all-puissantnesse of the Pope to take that side, and favour it carefully and
- l. 5. c. 16. stoutly, *con intrepidezza e con vigilanza*, now it is not very hard to see that the French Policy is lesse favourable to that of *Rome* then the Spanish, which made Fryer *Thomas Stella* Bishop, *di Capo d'Istria* a great creature of the Popes in the *Council of Trent*, for to say, that all mischief came out of the
- l. 19. c. 9. North, *ogni male dall' Aquilone*,

ARTICLE V.

Wherein the Policy of France is not favourable to that of Rome.

THE First Article is that of a Council being above a Pope, according to the Council of Basil which is a seditious opinion, quoth our Cardinal, *sediziosa*, and overthrows absolutely the Pope's Monarchy, *sediziosa*, *questione della maggioranza* l. 6. c. 13.
trà lui el Concilio, i quali capi si riducevano l. 19. c. 11.
à levar lo splendore e l'imperio della Corte l. 16. c. 10.
Romana; 'tis an erroneous opinion, *Erronea*,
Pestiferous, *Pestilente che non solo abatterebbe* l. 9. c. 16.
il trono pontificale mà disordinerebbe la Spi- l. 6. c. 7.
ritual Hierarchia. Ibid.

II.

'Tis not the Doctrine of France that the Pope is King of Kings, Lord of Lords. So that the Crown-Lands of Kings should be his Inheritance

III.

'Tis not the Doctrine of France that the Pope is Infallible, nor that he can make Articles of Faith, unto which if Kings do not yield he may declare them Hereticks, and give their States to the first occupant.

IV. 'Tis

IV.

'Tis not the Doctrine of *France*, that 'tis
Treason to hinder Money from being car-
ried to *Rome*.

V.

'Tis not the Doctrine of *France*, that
Bishops hold their jurisdiction from the
Pope, *questa sediziosa dottrina*.
l. 16. c. 10.

VI.

'Tis not the Doctrine of *France*, that
the Pope may dispence without cause, or
derogate from the Canons of Councils, *la*
qual tendeva ad abbattere la Monarchia, che
le costituzioni fatte dal Concilio non cadef-
sero sotto dispensazioni.
l. 19. c. 11.
see mons.
de Marco
Concord.
l. 3. c. 13.
§ 2.

But the better to know wherein the
Doctrine of *France*, and its Policy is oppo-
site to that of *Rome*, one need but to read
the Thirty four Articles contained in the
Instructions of the French Ambassadors at
the Council of *Trent*, on occasion where-
of Cardinal *Simonetta*, Pope *Pius IV.* his
great confident in the Council of *Trent*, said,
That the Physick of Reformation ought to
be like that which old Physicians prescribe,
which is always gentle, *al Cardinal Simo-*
netta pareva che à guisa de' Medici vecchi &
cauti
l. 18. c. 4.

cauti non formasse ricette senon leggiera; and that the receipts of the French Reformation were too strong.

The Four and thirty Articles proposed by the French Ambassador at the Council of Trent for Reformation of the Church.

I.

THAT the Age of Priests be an Age of Maturity, and that they have a good testimonial from the people. Against this Article, *Lainez. l. 21. c. 6.* This Article would hinder the multitude of Churchmen, who are exceeding useful to all States and Conditions according to our Cardinal. *l. 17. c. 9.*

II.

That Vacancies be supplied according to the Canons.

III.

That none be ordained without some Office or Benefice, against this Article; *Lainez l. 21. c. 6. Palavicin. l. 16. c. 9.*

IV. That

IV.

That every one ordained, be obliged to perform his Function.

V.

That none meddle with other business than the Functions of his Order. Against this demand, l. 8. c. 17. one hath reason to complain of the temporal Princes, quoth our Cardinal, when they don't imploy Ecclesiasticks in State affairs, *le doglienze sarebbon giuste quando escludessero del maneggio gli Ecclesiastici.*

VI.

That none be made a Bishop if he be not capable to instruct, and do all his Functions in person.

VII.

The like also as to Cures or Parish Priests.

VIII.

That none be made an Abbot or Prior Regular, that hath not taken his Degrees, and taught Divinity in some famous University.

IX. That

IX.

That Bishops Preach all Festival days, and Sundays, Advent and Lent, either in person or by some other for them.

X.

That the Cures, or Parish Priests do the same.

XI.

That in Abbies and Priories, the ancient studies, and exercises, and hospitality be again set up.

XII.

That he which cannot (through some disability after his admittance) perform the Functions of his Benefice himself, either quit it, or take a Coadjutor.

XIII.

That Catechizing be used.

XIV.

That Plurality of Benefices be taken away, and no distinction made of Compatible and Incompatible, unknown to antiquity

tiquity, and which is an occasion of many mischiefs in the Church that Secular Benefices be given to Seculars, and Regular to Regulars. Against this *Chap. 5. art. 4.*

XV.

That he which hath many Benefices keep only one of them, or incur the pains of the ancient Canons.

XVI.

That it be so ordered, that every Curé or Parish Priest, have means enough to keep two Clerks and maintain Hospitality.

XVII.

That the Church Prayers, Psalms, and Gospel be sung and uttered in French at the Mass.

XVIII.

That the Communion be given in both kinds.

XIX.

That in administering the Sacraments the vertue of them be explained in French.

XX. That

XX.

That no Benefices be given neither to Strangers nor unworthy persons, otherwise the Collation to be void.

XXI.

That Expectative Graces, Regresses, and Commendams of Benefices be abolished in the Church, as contrary to the Canons.

XXII.

That Resignations in favour persons named by the Resigners be also declared null, because 'tis forbidden by the Canons that none should seek, or chuse a Successor. Against this *Palavicini, Cap. 4. Art. 2.*

XXIII.

That the single Priories be re-united to the Benefices, with cures of Souls, from which they were separated.

XXIV.

That there be no Benefice without Cure of Souls. Against that, *Art. 3. Cap. 5.*

XXV. That

XXV.

That Penfions be abolifhed. Againft that, fee *Art. 2. Cap. 5. Palavicin. lib. 23. cap. 11.*

XXVI.

That Jurifdiction be reftored to the Bifhops, excepting over the Covents, Heads of Orders, and others fubject to them, and which make General Chapters, and fuch as have privileges by ancient Charters, notwithstanding all which, let them be fubject to correction.

XXVII.

That Bifhops do no bufinefs without the advice of their Prebendaries, as 'tis ordered by the Canons, according to which alfo the Bifhops ought to be affiduous at and in their Cathedrals, and not lefs aged than Five and twenty years.

XXVIII.

That the Degrees of Kindred be obferved in marriages, without permitting any difpenfation, except between Kings and Princes, for the Publick good, *la qual tendeva ad abattere la Monarchia. lib. 19. cap. 11.*

XXIX. That

XXIX.

That the True Doctrine touching Images be taught, and Superstitions taken away.

XXX

That the publick Penances for publick Sins be re-established, as well as publick Fasts and Mournings in the Church, to appease the wrath of God.

XXXI.

That Excommunications be not pronounced in the Church but for most grievous Sins, and after the second and third admonition in case the Sinner be obstinate.

XXXII.

That suits for Benefices with the distinctions of *petitory* and *possessory* be taken away, and that the Bishops never bestow Benefices upon them who sue for them, but upon those which shun them, and so render themselves worthy of them by avoiding of them. Against this, *Palavicin. Art. 4. c. 5.*

Q

XXXIII.

XXXIII.

In case where a Benefice is litigious, let the Bishop send one to supply the Cure who shall give no account to him for whom judgment goes, because the Revenues of Benefices belong not but to him that does the Duties.

XXXIV.

That every year a Synod of the dioceses shall assemble, and every three years a Provincial, and every ten years a General Synod. Against which see *Chap. 2.* As for the National Synods, our Cardinal calls them Abortions in the Church, *l'aborto d'un Concilio Nazionale. l. 4. c. 9.*

l. 16. c. 16. The most important of these Articles being manifestly opposite to the absolute Monarchy of the Pope, and to his All-puissantness, *contrarie al Pontificato*, to the splendor of his Court, and to his felicity according to the flesh. It now appears in what sense Father Lainez said, That the French had in a sort made a Schism since the Council of Basil's time, and that perhaps, 'twas a punishment for that Sin, that so many miseries had come upon them: And this he said upon occasion of the Canonical elections, which the French required

required should be re-established, *dubitar* l. 21. c. 6.

Egli de' Franchesi che ciò chiedevano come di tali che forse erano castigati da Dio ne' presenti infortunii per qualche loro separazione fin dal tempo del Concilio di Basilea. And he made no difficulty to say, that all those which would renew all those kinds of like ancient usages were moved thereunto by the instinct of the Devil, *coloro che volevano rinovare tali usi antichi muoversi per istinto del Diavolo.* *Ibid.* From hence one ought to infer, that the Jesuites having this sentiment of the Policy of the Gallican Church,

First, It's necessary that the Roman Court do employ them for to combat effectually in that Kingdom, against the Maxims of Reformation, that the Spirit of the Devil, according to them, inspires into those which have governed it since the *Council of Basil's* time, and now again since the *Council of Trent*, which all tend to nothing but to the overthrow of the Roman Empire, of the whole splendour of it's Court, and of it's Carnal felicity.

Secondly, It concerns the Roman Court to deal in such sort, that the reputation and the Doctrine of *Aristotle* may subsist with approbation in *France*; for the project of Felicity according to the Flesh, and of the Universal Monarchy of the World

World, which are the two cardinal points of the new Policy of our Historian, being particularly established and upheld upon the Doctrine of that Philosopher; and that Prince of Philosophers having already bestowed a many Articles of Faith upon the Church, the last effect of his Doctrine ought to be, to make these Articles be received in their full extent as Articles of Faith. *Viz.* That of the Universal Monarchy, as our Cardinal hath explained it, and that other of Felicity according to the Flesh necessary to the Church, for then one might well approve those words of our Cardinal, *di ciò si doveva in gran parte l'obligazione ad Aristotele, il quale se non si fosse adoperato in distinguer accuratamente i generi delle cagioni, noi mancavamo di molti Articoli di Fede.*

l. 8. c. 19.

For if once one could but come to make in the Church Articles of Faith out of the Maxims of our Cardinal's Policy, which have been related and are approved even by *Nicholas Machiavel*, then one might well say with our Cardinal, That the *Councils of Ephesus*, of *Calcedon*, and all those which have followed, as well as all the Fathers which assisted thereat, had never been able to make their Decisions, if they had not imbibed Gracian Philosophy, and that 'tis easy to see
among

among their Oracles how much of the *Stagyrite* and of *Athens* they have mingled with them, because that if *Aristotle*, or Philosophy had not given us common notions of things, we could not have been able by the aid of Divine Revelation to apply them to supernatural objects. l. 8. c. 19.

The Conclusion of the Work.

BY all that hath been said it appears, That Religious Policy is the most excellent of all moral virtues, and the most necessary to Salvation.

That all this Policy is reduced to two principal points, the First is the Royalty of the Pope over the whole World, the Second, is the carnal felicity of his reign, because it serves to bring Christian Religion in Reputation amongst imperfect and carnal men which have no pure Love toward God, *per conservarla in estimazione anche presso gli impertetti*, which for their affections l. 23. c. 3.

Q₃

affections more upon what they see then upon what is believed, *maggiormente s'affezionano à quel che si vede ch'à quel che si crede.*

From whence it comes, that the carnal felicity of the Church is a Vocation to Faith for all the World, and to the Clergyship for Lords and Gentlemen, who make the Churches Glory, and her to be signal over all the World.

l. 2. c. 10. 'Twas this temporal glory of the Pope's Royalty that Jesus Christ came to establish, and did merit by the effusion of his blood, and to set up which, he came down from Heaven upon Earth. *Ufficio istituito da Dio quando scese in terra per salute del Mondo.*

l. 4. c. 5. 'Tis the spirit of this carnal Monarchy which he shed forth upon the whole Church according to our Cardinal, the fulness whereof was in St. Peter, and he hath derived it since, as from a source, unto his Successors proportionably according to the progress of their studies in the science of Policy, as it appears at this day that this Spirit of St. Peter is liveing, quoth the Cardinal, in his Successor Alexander VII. *comme hoggi vive lo spirito di san' Pietro ne Successori.*

Wherefore

Wherefore having at the beginning of his work an Example of an ordinary Pope, viz. *Adrian VI.* who by consequence according to him had not the Spirit of *St. Peter*, though he had all his Apostolical vertues, because that according to our Cardinal, he had not his fine policy. He now on the contrary for the conclusion of his work, represents Pope *Alexander VII.* as one of the perfect Copies of this great Apostle according to the maxime of this same refined Policy.

"You are, quoth our Cardinal, speak- *l.24.c.ult.*
ing as to *Alexander VII.* "The Sun
"that bears rule in the Hemisphere of
"the Church. Light cannot suffer any
"darkness to obscure it. You have been
"created Pope according to the desire and
"the Heart of the Holy Ghost, *alla voglia*
"*del Spirito Sancto*, the Hereticks them-
"selves have born witness thereof. Other
"men are oft-times praised for their suc-
"cess, in which fortune did more then
"they, but you deserve a Praise no wise
"equivocal. The actions of your life
"are all yours, and fortune hath no part
"therein, *si piglia da fatti che tutti son*
suoi e niente della fortuna. Whereby it
does yet again appear that our Cardinal
does admit a Fortune distinct from divine
Providence, as it hath been explained to
us in the Politick consideration upon

Fortune ; For he would not say that, divine Providence had no share in the actions of Pope *Alexander*, VII. He goes on in these Terms , “ The pontifical officia-
 “ tings which your Holiness hath performed at Seasons , with so much order
 “ and Devotion have made the most lively image of Paradise to appear upon
 “ earth, that ever can be seen. But what
 “ shall I say of your Holinesses Nephews
 “ and near kindred, which you have left
 “ a whole year together at a distance from
 “ you, to try them before you called them
 “ to the Participation which they ought
 “ to have in the government (and the carnal Felicity of his reign.) “ To be absent
 “ sented a whole year together from the
 “ top of the perfection (and the carnal felicity of the Church) “ what a tryal !
 “ What a long time for a principal Nephew,
 “ so learned, of so ripe a Wit
 “ and of an integrity of life (so worthy of all the Ecclesiastical and religious voluptuousness of the Roman Court) “ so
 “ known as was then the life of Cardinal *Chigi*, your Holiness’s principal Nephew,
 “ which you called to you for the
 “ solace rather than the burthen of the
 “ people. I am of a Religion that does
 “ not permit me to lye, *mi ritrae dal*
Introd.c.8. “ *mentire* ; but though that were not so,
 “ yet if what I say could be satisfied by
 “ the publick knowledge , would not it
 “ be,

"be, for me my self to destroy my own
 "reputation to lye so openly ; *sarebbe in-*
famator da se stesso chi narrasse dal suo
principe vivente fatti particolari smentiti
dalla notizia commune. " Those magni-
 "ficences which your Holiness caused to
 "be represented in the shows which you
 "gave the people to honour a Queen,
 "which took off the Crown from her
 "Head to lay it at Jesus Christ's Vi-
 "car's feet ; were not they Triumphs of
 "Religion rather then Poms and Vani-
 "ties ? Thus then, adorable Holy Father,
 "'tis with these praises of your Holiness
 "that I mean to conclude my work,
 "which is a defence of the Faith and of
 "the Holy See, whereof your Holiness is
 "the infallible Master and Supreme Pre-
 "sident *essendo questa una difesa di quel-*
la fede e di quella sede di cui elle è in-
fallibil Maestro e Supremo Presidente. 'Tis
 to uphold this Infallibility that the later
 Popes causing from all parts of the
 World the Holy Ghost to be brought to
 them in a Clokebag, as formerly from
 Rome to the Council of Trent, to the end
 nothing might be pronounced as it were
 blindly or in the dark , *per non sentenziare* l. 16. c. 10.
alla cieca, have pronounced judgment a-
 gainst *Jansenius* and against *Luther*, *non*
hanno Sdegnato di procacciar l'eterna luce
dello Spirito Santo à se stessi per le vali-
gie de' corrieri. " And for upholding
 this

" this prerogative of infallibility, I doe
 " also pray God that after the Example
 " of your Holinesses life, He would make
 " an extension and widening of this
 " Spirit (of religious and carnal Policy)
 " in the Soul of your Successours, who
 " may keep up perpetually upon the Ho-
 " ly See in their persons as in yours, a
 " living Book and a living Apology of
 " the Sovereign Pontificat, and of its
 " rights, such as this same Policy, that's
 " the Queen of vertues, hath fixed,
 " and so to be able if not to convert,
 " yet at least to confound all those
 " who would be Rebels. *Non cessero*
di pregar la divina bontà che nella si-
gnificante difesa dal suo esempio ne'
successori tenga sempre nel Vaticano un
libro vivo e una viva apologia del Pon-
tificato, la quale vaglia se non à con-
vertire al meno à confondere i suoi ri-
belli.

l.24.c.ult.

These are the last words of our Car-
 dinal's book, which make it appear that
 he believed even unto the last, that the
 Spirit of Saint Peter reigned in all the
 Conduct and Policy of Pope Alexan-
 der VII, *pregbino Iddio che faccia vive-*
re stabilmente com' oggi vive lo Spirito di
san' Pietro ne successori.

He hath assever'd it so strongly that he would not lye, that he is by no means to be suspected, not so much as of the least wilfull flattery. From whence it remains then to be concluded, that for to comprehend well according to him what was the *Council of Trent's* Policy in all its orders made for reformation of manners, and which Policy ought to be the Churches to be in her perfection. Those which have seen with their eyes the Reign of Pope *Alexander VII.* and the carriage of Cardinal *Chigi* his principal Nephew, *Legat à Latere* in France, have no more to doe but to call them to mind; there they will see as in a living book all the rules of the carnal and religious Policy writ in letters of Gold, that is to say in the characters of works and practice, which are as saith the Cardinal, moralities gold, in comparison whereof words are but chaff, *le parole esser paglia i fetti esser oro.* L. 6. c. 7.

In the life of this same Pope a man shall see a King all-puissant in his shop or office of Dispensations, *sopra la bottega dalle dispensazioni*, granting them as he pleased, and even derogating from the Canons, and it will be plain that in not observing or obeying the *Council of Trent*,
it

it was the more perfectly observed, because that the all-puissantness of the Sovereign Pontife is set forth the better thereby, which the Council allwaies adored.

A man sees that this way the Gospel of the flesh receives every day more and more propagation and growth, by telling aloud abroad, to the most imperfect, this good news, That they have an easy and certain means to be happy according to the flesh in this World and in t'other, and that through the benefit of this new Gospel, the Council of Trent hath done the Church more good, then the Heresy of Luther hath diminished it or done it Mischief, *maggior aecrescimento di bontà per mezzo del Concilio che non fu scemato dall' istessa eresia.* This shall serve henceforward, as the Cardinal promises, for an invincible defence of the Catholick Religion, against *Hereticks, Infidels, or Atheists*, which shall be so rash as to write against it. This will be henceforward an Apology without reply for the Council of Trent it self, since the French and the Hereticks having first said that the Holy Ghost was carried thither from Rome in a Cloke-bag; they have confessed by jeering that he presided there. For after the subtilly wherewith our Cardinal explains seriously

riously this wicked raillery, and makes a Scholastick interpretation thereof, proving the assistance of the Holy Ghost at the Council, one needs not be an Eagle to stare out the truth of it; even a mole it self, either may see it, or smell it out, *non si richiede esser Aquila, basta non esser talpa.* Herein also most manifestly appears the infinite usefulness of School divinity, the incomparable fruit that our Cardinal hath gathered, having been a Master so long therein as well as in Philosophy according to *Aristotle's* principles, that the Heriticks cannot frame any conceit how ridiculous soever it be, but that this Cardinal's Subtility meditating a little profoundly thereupon, can give as serious and as surprising an interpretation thereof by force of his good sence, and reasons far fetch't, as the hereticks thought to make use of to surprise simple folk with, by their wicked raillerie. So after two Tomes of his History of the *Council of Trent* in folio, and the vast labour wherewith he composed the whole Body of carnal and religious Policy, he concludes gravely in a confident tone, that he which is not content with the government of the Church, such as he hath told you it is, and hath made it appear to be in the Carnal and Religious Policy of *Alexander VII.* and his Nephew Cardinal *Chigi*, and that is not
con-

content with the Spirit of St. Peter, as it appeared in our days living in that Pope, and in that his principal Nephew, can be no other but a Fool or a Cheat, *chi per approvare una forma di Republica non si contenta di questo governo presente, è insano, è seduttore.*

FINIS.

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